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Christian symbolism

Mrs. Henry Jenner

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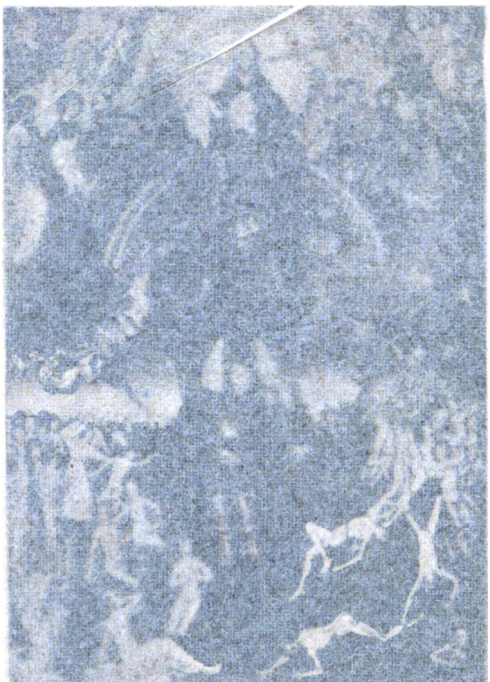

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CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM

BY

MRS. HENRY JENNER

WITH 41 ILLUSTRATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

CHRISTIANITY, like all other religions that ever have been, is largely made up of symbolism. It is not possible to express spiritual things adequately in words, and therefore even the words used for religious purposes must be largely metaphorical and symbolical, and a certain element of the esoteric and mystical, which so often accompanies the infancy of a religion, was a necessary characteristic of early Christianity. The origin of this symbolism is not to be defined. No doubt in a great measure the conventions of existing religions were taken over, sometimes in their conventional meanings, sometimes invested with slightly varied or wholly new significances. This was as necessary as the taking over of the spoken languages of the time, and those who have delighted in bringing charges of Paganism against the Catholic Church, on the ground of the use of what was once Pagan symbolism, might make equally weighty objections to the use of the Latin and Greek languages.[1] At first, no doubt,

[1] Every language is a dictionary of faded metaphors.—J. P. RICHTER.

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the adoption of existing symbols was as unconscious as the adoption of existing languages; but a time came, as is shown in one of St. Gregory's letters to St. Augustine of Canterbury, when such things were done deliberately, and upheld by common-sense arguments.

There were always two classes of symbols, fixed and arbitrary. In the one class emblems acquired a fixed meaning, the relation of which to the thing signified is not always traceable, though in many cases it is fairly obvious. There is no reason on the face of it why a Fish should signify Christ, or a palm-branch martyrdom; and the application of the Four Living Creatures of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse to the Four Evangelists does not explain itself very easily. Yet these and many others acquired the value of Egyptian ideographs, and, explainable or not, were generally accepted with meanings as definite as words. This class merges by imperceptible degrees into the class of types, metaphors and allegories, to which every man may attach the meaning that seems good to him, and whose value depends upon their applicability.

The earliest Christian symbolism was for the most part constructed so that it should be understood fully by the initiated only. At the time at which Christianity was revealed to the world esoteric religions were common; and though

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Christianity differed from Mithraism and various Gnostic sects in that it had received and obeyed a command to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, nevertheless there were many details which were only explained to those who had accepted the preliminary teaching. These, as in other religions, were often represented by signs to which the uninitiated would attach either some other, or perhaps no meaning at all, but which would remind the initiated of what they had learnt. As there has been an unbroken tradition of Christianity, from those troublous times of its beginning through the days when it no longer needed to hide itself in caves and catacombs until now, we know fairly well what these symbols meant. But had Christianity died out before the cessation of persecution, many of them would be as great puzzles to antiquaries as some of the Mithraic devices still remain. Even after the Peace of the Church the tradition of esoterism lingered on, as St. John Chrysostom's not unfrequent phrase, "The initiated will understand," shows us; and the same symbols and types continued to be used, even after their meanings had become common property. It is not at all certain that what is known as the *disciplina arcani* had any real existence, and certainly if it had, some of the Apologists, such as St. Justin, did not take much account of it.

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But a natural instinct of self-preservation, coupled with an objection to casting the pearls of the new religion before the Pagan swine, would lead to a considerable amount of unsystematic concealment, which would result in signs and emblems analogous to those of modern Freemasons. The evidence of the primitive liturgies, with their formulæ for guarding the doors (cf. "tiling" the Lodge), so that, as James of Edessa puts it, the heathen should not hear the sacred mysteries and parody them in the worship of their false gods, shows us that certain things were practically kept secret, and this would be especially the case when discovery was a matter of life or death. Thus the need would be felt of means of recognition. In his Early Christian romance, *Quo Vadis*, Sienkiewicz makes one of his Christian characters draw a figure of a fish in the dust as a means of discovering whether another character was a Christian. Though one may take leave to suggest that A.D. 64 is perhaps rather early for such a symbol, the principle is probable enough, and the necessity of concealment is probably answerable for many symbols. Figurative teaching began with the very beginning of Christianity, for the parables and discourses of Our Lord Himself are full of it, and from the combination of figurative teaching with worship arose liturgical ceremonial. The system of types derived from

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the Old Testament or from Nature is partly figurative teaching and partly an extension of the idea of prophecy. The earliest Christian art was a combination of conventional ideographs with types and figurative teaching. Beauty was not so much its object as instruction and reminding. And in this it was perhaps influenced by the example of that already existing symbolical and esoteric religion, Gnosticism. This system, which was curiously eclectic, in that it adopted symbolism from Greek, Egyptian, Jewish and other sources, wrapped up its teaching in a maze of secretive allegory, of which the key was only known to the initiated. Salvation was to be found only by a mystical knowledge (gnosis) or wisdom, which was attainable by a select few, and, if those who have written upon it have not misrepresented it, does not in itself appear to have been worth much when they got it. It is perhaps that which St. Paul, who probably knew all about it, calls (1 Tim. vi. 20) αἱ βέβηλοι κενοφωνίαι and ἡ ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις "the profane babblings" and "the science falsely so-called," which is very much what it seems to be. The adherents of this system or collection of systems (for there was little unity in it) engraved mystical emblems and words of power on various kinds of gems, and to these magical powers were attributed, though it may be doubted whether magic formed

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part of the original idea or was ever intended to do more than impress the vulgar. Some of the words were really acrostics of a number of other words, and so either had no meaning of their own or formed words of quite different meaning, which thus became symbols of the acrostic sentence. This play upon acrostics was a common practice of the Cabbalistic Jewish writers, and it gives some show of probability to the usual interpretation of the Christian Fish emblem.

Having once adopted the principle of emblematic teaching in its various forms, Christianity carried it to great lengths, and not only developed many new symbolisms, but also worked the system backwards, so to speak, by applying mystical meanings to existing ceremonies, objects and ideas which were not symbolical in their origin. This last was especially in vogue in medieval times, and reached its highest development in the thirteenth century in Durandus's wonderful *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, the principles of which have been so generally accepted that even so prosaic a book as the "Catholic Directory" must needs get mystical meanings of the Mass vestments into an almanac for the current year. But to include them in the present inquiry it does not really much matter whether, for instance, the vestments were originally only what we should call the "Sunday clothes" of a Roman gentleman

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or were deliberately meant to represent objects worn by Christ during the Passion. Be their origin what it may, they have had symbolism attached to them, and they and many other objects have consequent bearings on the principles of the symbolism which pervades all Christian art.

The object of this book is not to furnish a catalogue of emblems and attributes whereby visitors to churches and picture galleries may identify the saints and theological personages represented therein. That has been done over and over again, and sometimes excellently well. The intention is rather to supply, in a short and quite popular form, a guide to the general principles on which is based the symbolism of the Christian religion. And in this aspect of the subject it is hardly necessary to explain that by the Christian religion is here meant those historic forms of it which have in these matters preserved an unbroken tradition from the earliest days until now, whether in the West or in the East. This tradition, not only among those in communion with the See of St. Peter, but also in the Orthodox Eastern Church and the other separate Eastern bodies, has no doubt developed, altered and modified itself from time to time—it could not be otherwise in a living church ; but there has never been any break with the past, as in the "Reformed"

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churches. Fashions in art, as in devotions, may come and go, some details may be prominent at one period and almost lost sight of at others, and changed circumstances may bring apparent additions, but there are no subtractions, nothing is ever lost, and the underlying principles are the same to-day as when the infant Church, destitute, afflicted, tormented, wandered in dens and caves of the earth. Without attention to these principles it is not possible really to understand what Christian artists were trying to express. Thus it is that though this is a "Little Book on Art," it seems to contain more liturgiology, ecclesiology and theology than actual art. But the deviation is more apparent than real, for these are all so inextricably blended that it is impossible to grasp the meaning of symbolic art without knowing something of these kindred subjects.

It was originally intended that this book should be written by my husband. Various circumstances interfered to prevent this; but he has supplied me with a great deal of information on liturgical and ecclesiological subjects, and has given me much help throughout the book.

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CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM

CHAPTER I

SACRAMENTS AND SACRAMENTALS

THE most important part of the symbolical teaching of the Christian Church is to be found in the principles which underlie all those religious ordinances of which the more important are known as *sacraments* and those of less importance as *sacramentals*. It is the object of this preliminary chapter to describe, not indeed exhaustively, for that could not be done in the space, the general ideas and meanings of the various members of these two classes, with the object of clearing the ground for the artistic application of symbolism by an explanation of the most symbolical part of Christianity. The line between the two classes was originally a rather vague one, and by the earliest writers things are called "sacraments" which are now called "sacramentals," but long ago the Church, both in the East and the West, settled down into confining the name "sacrament" or "mystery" to seven principal ordinances, which differ from the others in producing effects *ex opere operato* rather than subjectively.

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SACRAMENTS

"A Sacrament is an outward sign of inward grace, ordained by Jesus Christ, by which grace is given to our souls." Thus defines the "Catechism of Christian Doctrine," in words which differ in nothing essential from the answer to "What meanest thou by this word Sacrament?" in the Catechism of the Church of England. The latter goes on to say that there are two parts in a sacrament, "the outward and visible sign and the inward and spiritual grace." These two parts, with the necessary proviso of a valid minister and a capable recipient, are the essentials, and it is to the "outward and visible sign" that the symbolism applies. The outward sign is common to all sacraments, but it may take the form of words only, of action and words, or of action, material and words. Thus in the sacraments of Penance and Matrimony words alone are sufficient, in Holy Order action and words are needed, in Baptism, the Eucharist, Confirmation and the Unction of the Sick material objects are added to action and words, and in the Holy Eucharist the material objects actually become the "inward part or thing signified." This classification, one need hardly say, is not intended as an improvement on the theological definitions of matter, form, minister and recipient, which do not come into the present discussion. To the absolute essentials there have been superadded from time to time a number of accompanying symbolical ceremonies, many of which convey teaching in

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addition to the grace. The Orthodox Eastern Church does not use the word *sacramentum*, which before it was taken over by the Christian Church meant an oath or solemn obligation, usually a military one, though it had also a juridical sense. The Eastern word is μυστήριον, a mystery, a term borrowed from the Pagan secret ceremonies. But there is no difference in the present meaning of the two words.

In the Sacrament of Baptism the only absolute essential is that the person to be baptized should be immersed in water or that water should be poured over him simultaneously with the pronunciation of the words "I baptize thee in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," or as the Orthodox rite, which generally prefers a more impersonal form, has it, "The servant of God N. is baptized in the Name," etc. Both forms fulfil the directions of Our Lord given in S. Matthew xxviii. 19. The symbolism is self-evident and simple. It is the washing of the soul from the guilt of sin, as the body is washed by water from material foulness. The Eastern Church, which baptizes always by immersion, adds another symbolism, borrowed from St. Paul's words, "We are buried with him by baptism unto death." But in all rites Eastern and Western, there are many other ceremonies whose symbolism is conscious and intentional. The exorcism of Satan by blowing or breathing, the declaration of faith, the giving of salt, "sal sapientiæ," the signing of the Cross on various parts of the body to symbolize the sanctification of the

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senses, the "Ephpheta" ceremony in imitation of Our Lord's healing of the deaf and dumb man, the white robe of baptismal innocence, the lighted taper and the two anointings, have been used in the Latin rite from very early times, and of these exorcisms, the white robe and the anointings are used in the Eastern rite also. The Nestorian Baptismal Office is unlike all others in being modelled on the Eucharistic, the pro-anaphoral part being almost identical, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit on the oil taking the place of the Consecration, and the Baptism itself of the Communion.

In the Early Church Baptism had certain regularly recognized emblems, used in paintings. One of these is the River Jordan, represented in Pagan fashion by a personification, or by a river with fish in it, of which there is a fine instance in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, in Rome. Another is the Passage of the Red Sea. A good instance of this was found on a sarcophagus in the Catacombs. The Fish, besides being an emblem of Our Lord, represented also both baptism and the baptized. A fisherman catching fish is also found as an emblem, and Noah and his ark is another. Often too the Dove descends, as in the baptism of Our Lord, upon the baptized, and there is a remarkable instance from Aquileia, where the baptized is shown in a font, a shower of water falls upon him from a starry circle in which is a Dove, and in the picture, besides the baptizing Bishop and a sponsor, there are two trees, the one barren to represent Paganism, the other

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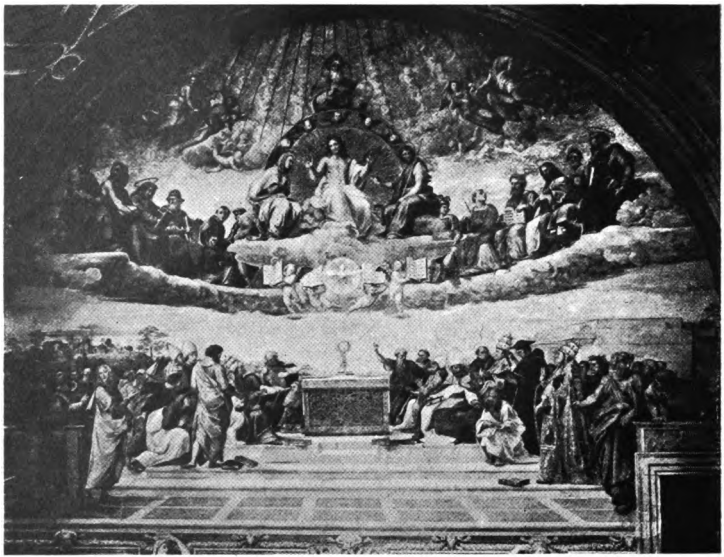

DISPUTA DEL SACRAMENTO

From the fresco by Raphael Sanzio in the Vatican Stanze

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blossoming to represent the Christian faith. It is supposed to portray the baptism of a Goth.

With the ceremonies of the Eucharist the symbolic interpretation is somewhat different. There meanings, some probable, some quite fanciful, have been invented and adopted in comparatively modern times, just as a perfectly simple and straightforward piece of Old Testament history has often been given a mystical and typical explanation. The essential of the Eucharist according to the Western Church is the pronunciation of Our Lord's words, "This is My Body" over bread and "This is My Blood" over wine. These words alone are sufficient, though it would be highly irregular to omit everything else. The Orthodox Eastern Church and the Monophysites require also the *Epiklesis* or Invocation of the Holy Spirit, while there is reason to suppose that the Nestorians at one time considered the *Epiklesis* alone to be sufficient, though on that point there is controversy.[1] But from the earliest times the Service, the λειτουργία *par excellence*, has been accompanied by much ceremonial and considerable symbolism. Of this much is obvious enough; the preliminary entrances and instructions, the declaration of a common faith in the Creed and of fellowship in the Kiss of Peace, the solemn offering of the elements do not need explanation. The Consecration ceremonies are almost entirely of divine origin, for Our Lord

[1] Of course in all these one presupposes "intention," which is a mental attitude which has no bearings on symbolism, and also a qualified minister.

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said, "Do this in remembrance of Me," and the Church in every rite has done it ever since; but even into so simple a ceremony as the Breaking of the Bread more symbolism has been introduced, for to the complicate fraction in the Celtic, Mozarabic, and Eastern rites has been given a wealth of mystical meaning, and the Commixture (placing a particle into the Chalice), or in some rites a re-uniting of the broken halves of the Host, has been taken to mean the re-uniting of Christ's body and soul in the Resurrection. In modern times a fantastical set of mystical meanings has been given to the whole service, which has been held to represent in dramatic fashion the Life and Passion of Christ.

Of course, the Consecration commemorates the Death upon the Cross, and in many liturgies the words of Institution are followed by words alluding to being mindful (as in the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom) "of the Cross, the Sepulchre, the Resurrection the third day, the Ascension into heaven, the sitting at the right hand and the second and glorious coming again"; but when it comes to making the crossing from one side to the other at the Epistle and Gospel represent our Lord being sent from Pilate to Herod and back again, and the *Lavabo* to signify Pilate's washing his hands, or, as one Gherard, a sixteenth-century Franciscan, does, taking the Entry of the Priest between the Deacon and Subdeacon to signify "how our Lord was born and laid between the Ox and the Ass," it is rather like making nonsense of symbolism.

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THE ADORATION OF THE LAMB, MYSTICALLY REPRESENTING THE EUCHARIST
From the painting by the Van Eycks in St. Bavon, Ghent

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The artistic emblems of the Holy Eucharist are usually only corn and grapes, or the Chalice and Host, which are hardly emblems so much as direct representations. In the catacomb of St. Callixtus there is a representation of two baskets, the one containing bread, the other a fish. This has been held, probably rightly, to be intended to indicate the period before and after consecration, the Fish signifying Our Lord. The sacrifices of Abel, of Noah, of Samuel, and of Melchisedek, the Manna in the wilderness, the "pure oblation" of Malachi's prophecy, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, are taken as types of the Holy Eucharist and as such are represented in art. Lastly the Pelican, which was fabled to feed its young with blood from its own breast, is a comparatively modern emblem of Christ in the Eucharist. It occurs as early as St. Thomas Aquinas, but is more common at the present day (as a device on tabernacles) than it was in the Middle Ages.

The Sacrament of Confirmation is administered with very simple ceremonies. In the West there is the anointing with Chrism, and there is also a slight blow given on the cheek to signify that the newly confirmed person, having become a soldier of Christ, must endure blows and trials in His service. In the East there is only the anointing with the Μύρον, with the words "The seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost." The minister of Confirmation in the West is normally the Bishop, though exceptionally by permission of the Holy See, a priest, furnished with Chrism consecrated by a Bishop, can administer it. In

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the East the normal minister is a priest, but the Μύρον must have been consecrated by a Patriarch or Principal Metropolitan. St. Cyril of Jerusalem in 348 has a very interesting discourse on the Chrism, which was in use as a matter of course in his day, and it is mentioned more than a century earlier by Tertullian. As an emblem of Confirmation the Dove is sometimes found in art.

In the Sacrament of Matrimony the consent of the contracting parties, solemnly given under conditions of *bona fides* prescribed by Church or State, is the only essential, but in both East and West some amount of ceremonial has been added. Some of this, no doubt, is pre-Christian. In the West there is, besides the solemn plighting of the troth and the nuptial benediction, the veiling of the bride, the giving of the ring, perhaps in both cases originally emblems of servitude and exclusive possession, and the wrapping of the priest's stole round the hands in token of union. In the East there is also the crowning, which, though it is perhaps connected with veiling, is a ceremony the meaning of which is not evident, and the drinking of wine from the Common Cup (τὸ κοινὸν ποτήριον) as a symbol of union. This last is also used at Jewish weddings.

The Sacrament of Penance has now no ceremonial beyond the pronunciation of absolution, but in olden times there were certain symbolisms before the reconciliation of penitents, temporary exclusion from the Mass of the Faithful, ashes upon the head, sackcloth or the white sheet, all of which were emblems of penitence.

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In the Sacrament of the Unction of the Sick there is the symbolism of the healing of body and soul with oil.

In the Sacrament of Holy Order the nucleus is the Laying on of Hands with words relating to receiving the Holy Ghost, but in both East and West there has been added the "Delivery of the Instruments," that is, of articles symbolical of the degrees of the ministry, the vesting in the particular vestments of each rank, and in some cases anointing. There is also the tonsure, a sign of the acceptance of servitude.

SACRAMENTALS

"Sacramental" is a very wide term which includes a very large number of pious customs and the use of many material objects, which though they do not, like the sacraments, convey grace of themselves, become grace-giving by the dispositions which they produce subjectively in the soul. They are also largely symbols, reminders and means of instruction. Prayer and its attitudes, the use of the Sign of the Cross, of holy water, bells, unctions, blessings, palms, ashes, medals, scapulars, crowns and cords, the reading of Holy Scripture, the saying of the Rosary, and many other things are of this nature. They are for the most part things that are nothing in themselves, but only in their uses, though some of them come very near to the borderline which divides them from sacraments. It is true that in some cases a superstitious use is possible, but that is no argument against the sensible and

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right use of these things. After all, the Bible is not infrequently used in England for purposes of divination in the form of *Sortes Biblicae*, or in connection with a church key, but it would be deplorable to abolish Bibles and church keys on that account.

It would be impossible in a small space to go fully into the endless varieties of symbolical sacramentals. It must suffice to take a few general classes in detail as specimens.

Oils. The use of oil for ceremonial purposes is very ancient and widely spread. Its use in the Christian Church is undoubtedly borrowed from the Jewish Church, and the instances of anointing in the Old Testament are very many. There is always an idea of the conferring of grace, generally that of the Holy Spirit, in Christian anointing, which may perhaps have originated in some confusion or play upon words between χάρισμα, grace, and χρίσμα, unction, which in all seriousness may be compared to a confusion of *grace* and *grease* in English. There are three sorts of holy oils. The Oil of Catechumens is used in the West before Baptisms, at the Ordination of Priests, at the Consecration of a Church, and at the Coronation of the Holy Roman Emperor, when there is one, and of some kings. In the East it is used at Baptisms only. The Oil of the Sick is used in both East and West for the Unction of the Sick, in the West at the Blessing of a Bell, and in the East on whole congregations on the Wednesday of Holy Week. These two are of pure olive oil, and are blessed in the West

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on Maundy Thursday by the Bishop, in the East by the Priest or Priests when they are required. The third is the Holy Chrism (Sanctum Chrisma, τὸ ἅγιον Μύρον). This is used in the West after Baptism, at Confirmation, at the Consecration of Bishops, at the Consecration of Churches and Altars and at the Sacring of the Kings of England and France. In the East it is used at Confirmation, at the Consecration of a Church and of an *antiminsion*, which is a sort of altar-cloth used in the same way as an altar-stone in the West, and at the Coronation of the Russian Emperor and formerly at that of the Eastern Emperors. It is composed in the West of oil and balm, in the East of a very large number of ingredients. It is consecrated on Maundy Thursday in the West by the Bishop, in the East by a Patriarch or principal Metropolitan. It is treated with the greatest reverence and saluted with genuflections, and has at times been kept in the Tabernacle with the Blessed Sacrament. The words used at its Consecration suggest in the West the Commixture, in the East the *Epiklesis* or Invocation of the Holy Spirit, in the Eucharist.

In the East normally, in the West exceptionally, a Priest furnished with it can administer confirmation, and from this, and many other indications in such writers as St. Cyril of Jerusalem, it would seem as though there were an idea, implied though never definitely expressed in words, that the Chrism is to the Third Person of the Trinity what the Eucharist is to the Second, though

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the manner of the Presence may be infusion, consubstantiation or even virtualism, rather than transubstantiation. The Chrism is the only holy oil retained by the Church of England, and that only for the anointing of the sovereign. It is made of many ingredients, and is consecrated by the Dean of Westminster or any member of the Chapter who happens to be a Bishop (at the last Coronation it was Bishop Welldon), or failing these by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the time of the service.

Water. The obvious symbolism of water is the spiritual application of its properties of cleansing and the quenching of thirst. The comparison of sin to defilement is common enough, as is the idea of spiritual washing to get rid of it. "Wash me throughly from my wickedness and cleanse me from my sin"; "Thou shalt purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean, thou shalt wash me and I shall be whiter than snow," are instances, to go no further than the *Miserere* Psalm. And there are many allusions in Scripture to the quenching of spiritual thirst and the drinking of the Water of Life. But the use of hallowed water in the Western Church has a further signification, and its great object is the driving out of evil spirits and the blessing of persons and things. Before hallowing, the water itself is exorcised, and any evil influence is driven away. It must not be supposed from this that the Catholic Church holds the Manichæan doctrine that all matter is inherently evil. It only indicates ceremonially that evil spirits may possibly lurk in

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anything from which they have not been definitely expelled. It is not the *matter* that is evil. The Eastern Church does not take quite the same view. Though persons, places and things definitely known to be possessed or haunted by evil spirits can be exorcised by a service provided in the Euchologion, and though an unbaptized person is exorcised before he is baptized, there is not thought to be any need to do away with any negative influence. Salt, also previously exorcised, is added to the water. Obviously this is to preserve it from becoming stagnant or putrid, but the prayers of its exorcism allude to Elisha healing the waters of Jericho and to the general salutary properties of salt. The holy water at the doors of churches is perhaps connected in a way with the *aqua lustralis* of pagan temples, but its more probable origin is in the laver of brass between the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar in Exodus xxx. 18-21. The Jewish idea of physical ceremonial uncleanness had no place in Christianity, but was given a spiritual meaning, and taking the holy water at the door, with a prayer for purity of heart, refers only to the soul. The "Asperges" before Mass has the same meaning. The blessing of churches, altars, bells, vestments, houses, utensils, etc., in fact, of everything that can be blessed, including in the latest editions of the Ritual even bicycles and motor-cars, with holy water has chiefly the notion of protection from evil influences, though it is not quite so definite nowadays, when faith in lurking demons is perhaps less vivid than it used to be.

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It really stands in most people's minds as part of a rather undefined system of associating religion with every action of life. It is not really superstitious, but prayer by action as well as words.

Bells. Probably the origin of the use of bells for religious purposes was purely utilitarian, to summon people to worship or for signals during the worship. There was, no doubt, superadded the idea of making a noise, "cheerful" or otherwise, to God. Bells are not Christian only. They are even more extensively used by various sorts of Asiatic pagans, especially by the northern Buddhists. With these noise seems to be the principal object. But though at the present day religious bell-ringing has generally only the intention of conveying information or displaying joy or grief, there is no doubt that, like the sign of the Cross and the sprinkling of Holy Water, the sound of a consecrated bell was held to be efficacious against the devil and his angels, as well as against such lesser powers of air, as thunder and lightning, storm and plague.

> Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum,
> Defunctos ploro, pestem fugo, festa decoro.
>
> Funera plango, fulgora frango, sabbata pango,
> Excito lentos, dissipo ventos, paco cruentos.
>
> Festa sonans mando, cum funere praelia pando;
> Meque fugit quando resono cum fulmine grando.
>
> Defunctos ploro, vivos voco, fulgura frango,

as the inscriptions on many medieval bells express it. It may be that the vibration of the air caused by the ringing of large bells really does

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have an effect on storms. Probably the medieval people never tried it with an unconsecrated bell. The idea that devils fly from bells is early. It may even be influenced by Exodus xxviii. 33–5, where the golden bells were to "be upon Aaron to minister, and his sound shall be heard when he goeth in unto the Holy Place before the Lord, and when he cometh out, that he die not." There, of course, the protection was against coming unannounced into the presence of Yahweh, though there is also a very fantastic rabbinical explanation of the order. St. Anthony, whose experience of evil spirits is proverbial, is represented with a bell. He went among the ruined temples and sanctuaries of Egyptian paganism, which were likely enough from his point of view to be terribly infested with devils, and he rang his bell to clear them out as he approached. Other hermits did the like.

The utilitarian use of bells is to call people to church, to call the attention of the congregation to the Sanctus, the beginning of the Consecration ("Hanc igitur oblationem"), the Elevation, and the Priest's communion, to announce daily the three times of the Angelus Prayer, and to call the faithful to pray for a passing soul. Sometimes at the Elevation not only is the handbell rung inside the church, but also either one of the big bells of the church, or a little turret bell is rung to announce the consecration to the world at large. When the Blessed Sacrament is carried to a sick person its coming is commonly announced by a bell. During Septuagesima and Lent, bells

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are neither rung nor chimed but tolled, and during Holy Week they are not used at all.

The consecration of a bell is often popularly, though not officially, called its "Baptism." As in the consecration of a church, the ceremonies are suggested by those of Baptism. The bell is exorcised, washed in holy water, and anointed outside with the Oil of the Sick, inside with the Chrism, and the Bishop says prayers over it abounding in mystical allusions. The trumpet destroying the walls of Jericho, the driving back of Jordan, the calming of the waves of the Sea of Galilee, David playing the harp before Saul, the thunder driving back the Philistines at Samuel's sacrifice (1 Sam. vii. 10) are among them.

Light and Fire. The symbolism of Light and Fire is obviously partly illumination and partly fervour. No doubt the original use of lights in Christian services was the purely utilitarian one of enabling people to see. Then came, perhaps, the idea of dignity, ornament and beauty, and later symbolic teaching was read into the already existing thing. But when the symbolism came in, which was certainly fairly early, there was no lack of it, and of course it was encouraged by the constant allusions to the Light in the Gospels and by the directly symbolical use of lights, lamps and candles in the Apocalypse. The most complete piece of light-symbolism is found in the Easter Eve ceremonies. The lights have all been extinguished in the church on Good Friday after the Mass of the Pre-Sanctified, when they had been lighted for a while. There is no light,

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for the Light of the World is dead upon the Cross. On Holy Saturdays, nowadays "by anticipation" in the morning, but originally in the afternoon, the New Fire is struck by a flint and steel in the porch of the church, and so Easter begins with the rising again of the Light. From this fire the lights of the church are lighted, after the Paschal candle has been solemnly blessed and kindled from it, and this Paschal candle is used in the blessing of the Font. The wonderful hymn, attributed to St. Augustine, "Exultet jam angelica turba caelorum," which is sung by the deacon at the blessing of the Paschal candle, is full of allegory. As all this is mixed up with Baptisms, there is also a symbolism of enlightenment of the minds of the newly baptized. The ceremony of the New Fire is not very early as a Christian function. It is probably of Celtic origin. It is mentioned in the letters of St. Boniface and Pope Zachary as a British or Irish ceremony, and, even earlier, there are allusions to bonfires on Easter Eve in St. Patrick's time. It is not found in the Merovingian Gallican books, and it does not seem to have been used at Rome itself, where even the Paschal candle came rather late, until well after the time of Charlemagne. Yet it is very probably pre-Christian, and in its origin symbolizes not the Resurrection of Christ, but the revival of Nature at the vernal equinox, an idea which was very naturally adaptable to Christian purposes. Lights are used on the altar at Mass. For symbolical purposes there should be two, to signify the two Natures of Christ who

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is our Light. In processions they add dignity to the proceedings. At Baptism a lighted taper is given to the newly baptized, with an allusion to the parable of the Ten Virgins. At a churching a lighted candle is held, in allusion to Simeon's words, "Lumen ad revelationem gentium," at the Churching of Our Lady, and on the Festival of that churching, Candlemas Day, many lights are used, as they are in the East at the Feast of Our Lord's Baptism, which is what is there commemorated on the Epiphany. A light is given to a dying man to symbolize the Light which will accompany him *in medio umbrae mortis*, and lights are carried at his burial to show that the Light has triumphed over death. In the East lights are used very much as in the West, but the most notable peculiarity is the use of the δικήριον (two-taper candle) and τρικήριον (three-tapers) with which a Bishop blesses during the Eucharist. They signify respectively the two Natures of Christ and the Trinity.

Incense has a twofold purpose, smoke and a fragrant smell. As a Christian symbol it has directly a purely Jewish origin, though it was common to other religions also. The date of its introduction into Christian worship is not known, but it was in general use in the fourth century, and is still used by all sorts of Christians except the "Reformed" churches. Primarily it signifies prayer (Ps. cxli. 2; Rev. v. 8, viii. 3), but it is also used in the "censing of persons and things" as a mark of respect and dignity. It is not easy to understand why those who, however unde-

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servedly, prided themselves on their adherence to the Bible, should have rejected such an eminently scriptural symbol. It has been reintroduced (for there is evidence of its use in the seventeenth century) into the Church of England during the last sixty years, though its legality is disputed.

Palms, besides being emblems of martyrdom, are used on Palm Sunday (Dominica in Ramis Palmarum, Κυριακὴ τῶν Βαίων) in commemoration of Our Lord's Entry into Jerusalem. In the East they are simply blessed with a single prayer, and are then distributed and are held in the hand during the singing of the Kanon (an elaborate sort of hymn) at Ὄρθρος (= nearly Lauds). In the West, besides the blessing, distribution and holding of the palms, in this case at the Gospel, there is a highly dramatic service representing the Entry into Jerusalem. It is the custom to burn any blessed palms that are left over, and to use the powdered ashes on Ash Wednesday.

Ashes are used as an emblem of penitence. Penitents in earlier days put ashes upon their heads. The custom now is, on the first day of Lent, after the Blessing of the Ashes, for the Priest to put ashes on the foreheads of the clergy and people with the words, "Memento, homo, quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris" (Remember, O man, that dust thou art and to dust thou shalt return). Ash Wednesday (*Feria Quarta Cinerum*) only belongs to the Roman Rite and its later derivatives, though it is very early there. In the Ambrosian (Milan) Rite of the present day, as in Gallican and Celtic Rites

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of old, Lent begins on the Monday after, and though the ceremony is now found in the Mozarabic Missal, it is there a comparatively late Roman addition. In the Eastern Church Lent begins on the previous Monday. Ashes are used also to mingle with wine, salt and water in part of the ceremonies of the consecration of churches.

Medals, *Scapulars* and *Agnus Deis* are partly of the nature of badges of membership and partly pious reminders or associations with some place or event. Those who wear them associate themselves with the prayers of some order or pilgrimage place, and though their use may at times have descended to the level of that of charms and amulets, that is not their true intention. Thus, the *Agnus Dei* is a piece of wax stamped with a lamb, or a fragment of such a piece, blessed by the Pope on Holy Saturday. It is connected with the Baptisms of that day, and is worn as a reminder of the purity of Baptism and as a consent to and a desire to be a partaker in the prayers said at its blessing. Its effect, like that of most sacramentals, is purely subjective. Its use, like that of blessed medals, rosaries and scapulars, is a form of acted prayer, and tends to show that members of the Church may have the benefits of all spiritual things in common if they choose, as the earlier members of it had also those of all temporal things.

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CHAPTER II

THE TRINITY

THE function of symbolism in art is to portray to the mind, by means of visible images, conceptions of the soul. Christian symbolism thus endeavouring to elucidate the mystery of the invisible God, its first and greatest subject is God Himself.

In the beginning was God, God meditating on Himself engendered God the Son. From the mutual love of the Father and the Son the Holy Ghost proceeded. The source of the Divine nature is God the Father. The Second Person receives it by generation, therefore He is called the Son. The Holy Ghost receives the Divine nature not by generation, but by procession. All are equally God, equal in power, wisdom and goodness; the only difference between them is their mutual relation to each other, or else they would all be the same Person.

The idea of a Divine Trinity is by no means confined to Christianity, and mingled with this doctrine was the ancient mysticism of the number three. Space forbids more than this bare allusion to the old idea that nothing would be complete unless divisible by three, and all nature was held

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to have inherently this triple mystery. St. Augustine divides man into mind, consciousness and love. Man being in the image of God there must be the human trinity of Body, Soul and Spirit. Apart from the inherent difficulties of depicting pure spirit which is not clothed with flesh, there was in the early ages of the Church a natural reluctance to give to God a visible form which might in any sense be compared to that of Jupiter. The spirituality of God was so passionately insisted upon by the first Christians that it was an impossibility for them to clothe Him with the lineaments of a man.

For four hundred years there seems to have been no attempt to depict God the Father. If the Almighty was to be represented in art it was always under the form of God manifested in the flesh, in the person of Christ. St. John of Damascus declares that the essence of the Divine nature ought not to be represented, for it has never been revealed to mortal eye.

After the fourth century we get the first instance of an attempt to portray God the Father, and this is frankly anthropomorphic. By this time some of the terror and prejudice against pagan idolatry had weakened. This representation occurs on a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum, executed about the year 410. The Three Persons are three grave men, all alike. God the Father is seated on a veiled throne emblematical of His dignity. He is blessing the figure of Eve which Christ, her creator, presents to Him. God the Holy Ghost stands behind the throne.

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THE HOLY TRINITY
From the painting by Albert Dürer. Imperial Gallery, Vienna

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With this one very striking exception, for about eight hundred years men portrayed the Trinity by certain attributes rather than by anthropomorphic images. God the Father by a Hand, Christ by a Cross, the Holy Ghost by a Dove or a book.

The unity and equality of the Three Persons was so carefully expressed that up to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there is little attempt to differentiate the Three Persons in their Personality, but only by attributes or by symbols expressive of their relations. In the earliest instance all three persons are alike. In a MS. of the twelfth century all three are alike as grave bearded majestic figures blessing the creation of the world. After the thirteenth century attempts are made to differentiate the Persons by representing the Father as older than the Son, and very frequently the Holy Ghost is represented as a Dove, but sometimes as a young man.

This differentiation of the Three Persons rapidly grew, so that after this period it is almost invariable to find the Father as an aged man, and the Son considerably younger, until this culminates in the heretical monstrosity of representing the Eternal God as a decrepit bald old man.

One of the developments which took place in the twelfth century was highly mystical Trinities wherein the Father was represented as a middle-aged man holding a cross on which was extended Christ as dead, while the Holy Ghost as a Dove hovered between the two. This seems to have been for a long time the most popular personifica-

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tion of this mystery, possibly because it was so easily understood.

Another method of expression was in representing the Father and Son as seated with the Holy Dove between them. Instances of all Three Persons in human form are less common than these. All these sane and intelligible methods of visualizing the invisible became distorted during the mad jumble of ideas of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into the ludicrous monstrosities of that period, when we get a single body with three heads, or even more grotesque, during the Renaissance, a single head with three noses and three mouths and four eyes, recalling the vagaries of Hindoo mythology.

To such a point had these grotesques reached that Urban VIII, in 1628, forbade the making of these monstrosities of Three Persons in one body, and from that time representations of the Trinity either reverted to their former type, or became crystallized in geometrical forms such as the circle and the triangle.

The most abstract figure representing the Trinity is the form of a triangle. Sometimes the triangle is contained in a circle, thus expressing the Divine Triplicity in Unity. For the most beautiful meditation on the use of the symbol of the circles I would refer the reader to the *Paradiso*, Canto xxxiii.

Three intertwined circles was another method of expressing the same idea, which came into use about the thirteenth century. The triangle comprehending in one area three angles, all equal,

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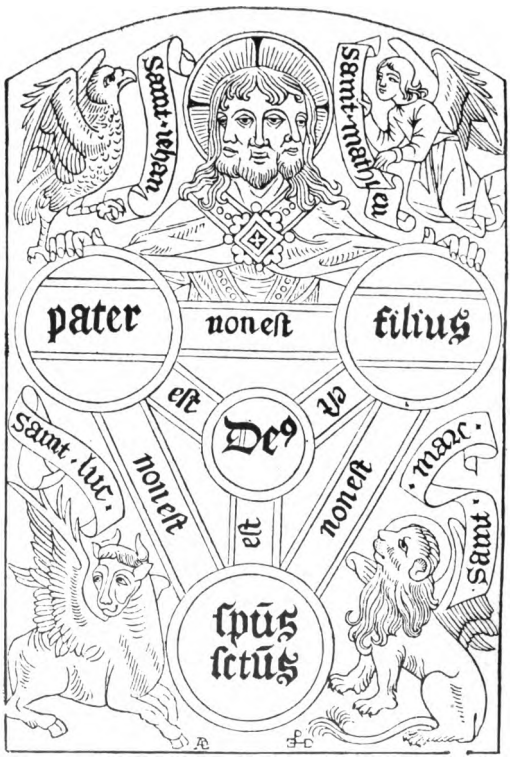

THE HOLY TRINITY, EMBLEMATICALLY REPRESENTED, WITH THE EMBLEMS OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS

From a Book of Hours, printed by Simon Vostre, Paris, 1524

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was held to express the mystery of the Three Persons in one Godhead. This use of the triangle, with or without a circle, continued down to the sixteenth century. Sometimes its corners were rounded into circles, and two triangles together are sometimes entwined and formed into geometrical figures. Sometimes the Hebrew יהוה (Yahweh, Jehovah) is enclosed in the triangle.

The circle from very ancient times has been held to represent Eternity, without beginning and without end. A single circle, or three circles expressed the Unity in Trinity, or the Trinity in Unity.

Sometimes nine circles, one within the other, all supported by a figure of the Trinity, were used to express the creation of the Heavens and the earth, according to the Ptolemaic system of the spheres or epicycles. There is a fourteenth-century MS. showing the Trinity under the form of a man holding a gigantic circle which encloses nine circles of angels, then space, then the starry heavens, the waters, and in the middle in the twenty-first circle (three times seven) is the earth.

A curious seventeenth-century emblem is found not infrequently in England. In the middle is a circle bearing the word "Deus"; around it in triangle form are three circles bearing the words "Pater," "Filius," "Spiritus Sanctus," united with one another by bands inscribed "non est" and with the inner circle by similar bands inscribed "est." It reads:—

> Pater non est Filius, Filius non est Spiritus Sanctus,
> Spiritus Sanctus non est Pater, Pater est Deus,
> Filius est Deus, Spiritus Sanctus est Deus.

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There is a good example in a window in the church of Harlow, in Essex.

God the Father. The predominant characteristic of Almighty God in the Old Testament is power; consequently, when men desired to express in form some idea of the Supreme Being they adopted the simile used in the Old Testament of the Hand of God, which most tersely expresses this sense of might in human terms. Apart from speech, the greatest differentiation of the human from the brute creation is the hand. By his hand man carries out all the mighty works born in his brain. So in like manner man spoke of the "Hand of the Lord," which fashioned the heavens and measured the waters in its hollow.

For eleven hundred years this "Hand" of the Lord was almost the only expression in art of the First Person of the Trinity. Ezekiel speaks of the "Hand of the Lord God," and there are numerous references in the Old Testament to the power of God under this image. St. Eucherius, a fifth-century Bishop of Lyons, speaks of the power of God implied by this figure, and so does St. Prosper of Aquitaine. This symbolical method of representing Him whom no man hath seen lasted all through the Middle Ages down to the decadence of religious art.

The earliest instance occurs in a bas-relief on the tomb of Junius Bassus in the Vatican (359). There are other examples of an early date, and in all these the Hand is emerging from clouds. The next in date shows the Hand simply extended from the clouds, and appears above the Cross in

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BAPTISM OF CHRIST, WITH THE DOVE DESCENDING AND THE HAND OF THE FATHER ABOVE. BELOW IS THE PERSONIFICATION OF THE RIVER JORDAN

From a North Italian sixth century ivory in the British Museum

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a mosaic of the sixth century in the church of S. Apollinare, Ravenna.

In the next development of this idea the Hand holds a wreath, signifying the crown of glory, above the head of Christ. This occurs in the sixth-century mosaic in the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, in Rome. The same idea of the Hand of God crowning with glory the heads of His saints occurs in the seventh-century mosaics in the churches of St. Euphemia, S. Stefano, and S. Agnese, in Rome. In a ninth-century mosaic in S. Maria Nuova, in Rome, the Hand holds a wreath over the Blessed Virgin, who holds her child in her arms. In all these early instances the Hand neither emits rays nor is encircled in a nimbus; but in an illumination of the ninth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the Hand is seen in the act of blessing, enclosed in a nimbus over the Baptism of Christ. A still more pronounced form of the nimbus with a cross within it, of about the same date, occurs in a MS. *Liber Precum* in the same library in a miniature representing the martyrdom of St. Stephen. The Hand is giving the Latin benediction, and a little more of the arm is shown than in the earlier instances. A still further development takes place in the same century, where rays of light proceed from the tips of the fingers; this occurs in an illuminated Bible of Charles the Bald. From about this time the Hand is usually giving a blessing, either in the Greek or the Latin form.

When the Divine Hand is not actively blessing, but is simply open, it represents the Divine benefi-

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cence shed upon the earth. From this open Hand rays are frequently depicted as streaming forth. There is a curious instance of this rayed Hand in a Norman chapel in Palermo (twelfth century), where the Holy Spirit as a Dove proceeds on the rays of light from the Hand of God. In a Saxon Psalter (Harl. 603) of the eleventh century the Hand is represented as casting forth the spears and arrows of His lightning. There is a beautiful instance in the western gate of the cathedral at Sens, where from the summit of the vaulting the Hand of God blesses the army of martyrs who ascend at the sides. At the Baptism of Christ and at the Agony in the Garden, this blessing and sustaining Hand of the Father is up to the Renaissance a distinguishing feature.

Another development of this all-blessing and all-powerful Hand we meet with in quite a late instance in a Greek convent at Salamis, where the Hand of God is seen among the clouds holding the souls of the righteous.

Up to the tenth century the Hand issuing from a cloud, or surrounded by a nimbus, sometimes emitting rays of light as a sun, is always symbolical of God the Father. In certain cases the Hand is shown as pointing upwards. There is an instance in the cathedral of Ferrara, twelfth century. It also appears on the seal of Hugh Capet, and on many of the coins of the Saxon kings.

A representation of the Hand of God as stretched out towards Christ in His Agony in the Garden is common in MSS., but these are all later developments when the significance of

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the symbol is obscured by the gradual introduction, first of the arm, and then of the face of the Eternal Father. It was but a short step then to depict the shoulders and gradually to represent the whole figure.

Of the attributes of God the Father, the commonest is the Globe, symbolical of the Universe; but this is also one of the attributes of God the Son as Creator. The triangular or lozenge-shaped nimbus belongs properly to the Father only.

The triple tiara, worn by the Pope as representing the power of God on earth, is frequently placed on the Head of God the Father in later art. When this is done He is clothed with a cope, and wears the Papal shoes and ring, the whole symbolizing His Presence in the Person of His Vice-Regent on earth.

Another attribute of God is the Book, the Word of Life; sometimes this is held by the Father and the Son, while the Holy Ghost hovers over it, symbolizing His inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

God the Son. The history of the portraits of the Incarnate God the Son does not come into a work on Christian symbolism. From the earliest ages the personality of Christ has been also represented under the form of symbols. Under a symbol did St. John Baptist refer to Him as "The Lamb of God." Christ speaks of Himself as the "Good Shepherd," "The Vine," "The Door." To the Jews with their memories of the Paschal Lamb this image of St. John was peculiarly apt. St. Peter uses the simile in his epistle. Yet in

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early Roman art it is not in such common use as the figure of the Good Shepherd, which may be said to be the distinguishing characteristic of the symbolical rendering of Christ in the Petrine city.

By far the most popular figure of Christ in Rome and the Western Church was the Good Shepherd. It is essentially a Western idea, and I believe no early instance of it occurs in the East. It may be looked upon as coming not only from His own application of it, "I am the Good Shepherd," but also from the emphatic words to St. Peter, "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep." For all through the catacombs and in early sculpture in St. Peter's city this gracious and Divine figure of Christ as the Good Shepherd reigns supreme. One of the first and most important frescoes in the catacombs shows a fair and beardless youth with His pipes in His hand, holding a lamb across His shoulders while sheep lie at His feet. There is a sculpture of the Good Shepherd in the Lateran Museum which has the grace and freedom of pagan art, and is said to be of the first century. It represents the ideal youth, beardless, curly-haired, tunic-clad. On His shoulders He carries the lost lamb.

There are two varieties of treatment; the most popular shows the Good Shepherd bearing the lost sheep upon His shoulders. Sometimes there is a single figure, at others He is surrounded by the faithful as sheep. A very early instance in S. Calixtus shows the Good Shepherd bearing the sheep, with two sheep at His feet, and alle-

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gorical representations of the seasons on each side.

Another curious example taken from the catacombs shows the same figures with the sun and moon and stars.

The other and less popular treatment represents the Good Shepherd as leaning on His staff amidst the sheep or sitting on a hill surrounded by them. A very curious glass from the catacombs shows Him lamenting over the sheep which are galloping away from Him. Occasionally goats are introduced in contradistinction to the faithful. One of the last of the great mosaics of this subject is in the church of SS. Nazario and Celso in Ravenna, where He is seated in the midst of the flock and bears a cross.

Christ being figured both as the Lamb and the Shepherd may have given rise to the inscription on a medallion of the Lamb of God on the door of S. Pudentiana, traditionally the oldest church in Rome, which says, "Dead and living I am but one; I am at once the Shepherd and the Lamb."

There is a vital difference between the use of the Lamb and the Fish to designate Christ. The Lamb does not under a mere figure recall the personality of Christ as a combination of letters might, but it actually represents Him. "Behold the Lamb of God, Who taketh away the sins of the world," was the greeting of the Baptist. A fish may remind the spectator of Christ, but the Lamb is not a mere metaphor, but represents His personality as if He had assumed that form. Hence the custom of showing a cruciform nimbus

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round the head of the Lamb, which would not be done with a mere ideograph.

A very early example of a lamb surmounted by a Greek monogram, and another surmounted by a cross, occur in the catacombs. In early sculptures and in etchings on glass, the Lamb is frequently represented as standing on a hill from which flows four rivers. Frequently the apostles are introduced as lambs or sheep.

The Lamb sometimes bears the cross of victory, or a palm branch. A later development was to enclose the Lamb in a wreath, or in a circle adorned with stars.

In the sixth-century church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, in Rome, the Lamb, surmounted by a cross, is lying on the altar (cf. Rev. v. 6), and in the church of S. Lawrence of about the same date the Lamb bears the cup as well as the cross.

These ideas last well into the ninth century. In the church of S. Praxede, in Rome, where the Lamb lies on the altar, the knife of sacrifice is also introduced. After the tenth century the banner is introduced, floating from the cross, and from a wound in the breast the blood flows into a chalice. This common device of the Lamb and Flag was popular all through the Middle Ages, and numberless instances of it occur in sculpture, mosaic, wall painting and glass. It has been commonly used in Protestant churches. As an emblem of the Knights of St. John it has been widely diffused, and may be seen in the Temple in London, which belonged to that order for a while before it was given over to the lawyers.

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FIFTH CENTURY SARCOPHAGUS, WITH THE LAMB, THE CROSS, AND DOVES
From the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna

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To such an extent had Christ been figured under the form of a Lamb that there almost seemed a danger of His Humanity being lost in allegory, and in the year 691 the Council "in Trullo" at Constantinople decreed that in future human lineaments must take the place of the Lamb in representing Christ. Artists nevertheless continued their symbolical treatment both in the East and in the West, though after the thirteenth century the human figure of Christ Himself was more commonly depicted than that of the Lamb.

Out of an unduly forced symbolism arose certain monstrosities, such as giving seven horns and seven eyes to the Lamb of the Apocalypse.

The Fish as a symbol of Christ is in a different category from the Lamb and the Lion, and is simply an esoteric symbol, and is used to represent Christians in general as well as Christ. It is never used in the personal, but only in the abstract as an ideograph, and is never surrounded by a nimbus. For instance, on an engraved gem of the third century there is a head of Christ, with the name engraved round it, resting on a fish.

In what is called the Chapel of the Sacraments in the catacombs of St. Callixtus, the Eucharistic paten has a fish lying on it instead of bread. The Fish and the Cross are entwined in foliage on the wall of a subterranean crypt near Aphrodisias in Africa. It is common, with the name of Christ above it, on engraved stones used as amulets, also on cameos, intaglios, on ancient glasses and sepulchral lamps of the first ages of the Church.

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Tertullian uses this metaphor when he says, "We are little fishes in Christ our great fish."

The images of paganism were taken and purified by Christians, as Clement of Alexandria explains, "Let the dove and the fish, the vessel flying before the wind, the harmonious lyre . . . and the marine anchor be signs unto you." On the tomb of Avercius (Ἀβέρκιος), Bishop of Hieropolis in the end of the second century, discovered by Sir W. Ramsay in Phrygia, there is a long and highly mystical inscription, which evidently alludes to Christ in the Eucharist as "The Fish from the spring, which the spotless Virgin caught." "Ἰχθύς is the mystical name of Christ," says St. Augustine, "because He descended alive into the depths of this mortal life as into the abyss of waters." The image of Christ descending into the abyss bearing the Cross which Leviathan bites to his destruction, while Christians cling to it as their salvation, became the theme of many allegories. In connection with this idea Julius Africanus calls Christ the "great Fish taken by the fish-hook of God, and whose flesh nourishes the whole world." St. Augustine speaks of the name *piscina* given to the Christian font of which the water purifies us from all sin, being derived from the Fish, symbolizing Him by whom we are redeemed. The form of the *Vesica Piscis*, used only for the enclosing of the most sacred subjects, more particularly in connection with the Immaculate Conception, was possibly derived from the conventionalized shape of a fish, and was used as an aureole or frame.

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Ecclesiastical seals were made in this shape. It is also, however, an obvious architectural idea suggested by the intersection of two circles.

While it is indisputable that in a great number of the early monuments the Fish is used to figure Christ, it is equally indisputable that the emblem was used to indicate Christians as a body. It is very frequently portrayed on sepulchral monuments, apparently as an indication of the status of the dead, for it is only used to indicate a Christian tomb in Latin monuments. In the catacombs there is an early and rude drawing of two fish adoring a cross.

The theory that the emblem originated in an acrostic of the words "Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ" (Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour), the initials of which form the word ἰχθύς, fish, is not found earlier than a mention by Optatus, Bishop of Milesia, in Africa (*circ.* 350). It may be only an afterthought, and the true origin of the emblem is possibly still to seek, but the acrostic idea of symbols is common in Gnosticism.

Another usual and rather obvious emblem of Christ is the Monogram, either of "Jesus" or "Christus," or of both together. At a very early date the Holy Name was written in books in an abbreviated form $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$, $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ $\overline{\text{XPC}}$, or even $\overline{\text{IX}}$. As early as the second century the monogram of Χριστός, in the form is found, and the legend of the Vision of Constantine gave it a wide circulation. To this day the form $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$,

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with the addition of the word NIKA (νικᾷ, conquers) is stamped upon every altar-bread of the Orthodox Eastern Church, and it occurs on every eikon of Our Lord. In the West the monogram of "Jesus" in its Greek form, IHCOYC, began to be used alone about the twelfth century. First it was written $\overline{\text{IHC}}$, but later the minuscule form of the Latin H took the place of the capital of the Greek η, and the line above, originally the sign of abbreviation, became the horizontal bar of a cross, . Later, after the Renaissance, the capital was restored with often an added cross, e.g. , and often, the origin being forgotten, points were placed between the letters, and ignorant people believed it to stand for the initials of "Jesus Hominum Salvator." Naturally the combinations of these three Greek letters assumed an endless variety of ornamental shapes, not, however, of any great importance.

There was a very early symbolical representation of Christ which did not last beyond the first ages of the Church, and that was an adaptation of the pagan Orpheus. Orpheus tamed the wild beasts by the sound of his lyre, and it was a natural imagery to represent the evil passions of men as wild beasts brought into subjection by the voice of Christ. There are two important instances of Christ as Orpheus in the catacomb of St. Callixtus, which represent Christ as a beautiful

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CHRIST TRAMPLING ON THE LION AND DRAGON (PS. XCI. 13)
From an English eleventh century MS. (Cott. Tib C. vi) in the British Museum

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youth seated amidst trees with His lyre in His hand, surrounded by wild beasts and birds rapt in awed attention around Him. Such an obvious reminiscence of pagan ideas as this naturally did not last long after the full establishment of Christianity.

A very rare symbol of Christ is that of the Lion. In the Revelation the expression "The Lion of the tribe of Judah" is applied to Christ, but it very rarely occurs in art. The old myth that the young lion is born dead and only wakes into life after three days by the roar of its parent may have given rise to the use of this symbol, which is an emblem of the resurrection. In a Bible called Charlemagne's (B.M., Add. MS. 10,546) a Lion and a Lamb stand on each side of an altar. In the west porch of Notre Dame in Paris there is a little Lion shown sleeping on the pedestal of a statue of Our Lady, and in the great Church of Mount Athos, Mary and angels adore the sleeping Christ at whose feet reposes a little sleeping Lion.

The Pelican is a comparatively modern symbol of Christ. I believe it never occurs in early art, and it probably arose about the twelfth century. Curiously enough, considering that its wholly mythological reason is in no sense founded on fact, a "Pelican in her Piety" is a recognized and not uncommon symbol of Christ at the present day.

Conrad of Wurzburg in the thirteenth century gives the legend in a German poem, and Dante uses the image. The legend speaks of the Pelican nourishing its young ones with its blood, and in this sense it was used as an image of the

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Passion of Christ, and more particularly as a symbol of the Eucharist, wherein Christians are nourished by Christ Himself.

St. Thomas Aquinas, in his Eucharistic poem "Adoro te devote, latens Deitas," has a well-known verse which shows this symbolism:

Pie Pelicane, Jesu Domine,
Me immundum munda tuo sanguine,
Cujus una stilla salvum facere
Totum mundum quit ab omni scelere.

(Pelican of Pity, Jesus Lord and God,
Cleanse Thou me unclean in Thy most precious blood,
But a single drop of which doth save and free
All the universe from its iniquity.)

The Paris Breviary changed "Pie Pelicane" to "O Fons pietatis" and destroyed the point of a beautiful verse. This reading was adopted by "Hymns, Ancient and Modern."

The Mermaid is occasionally used as an emblem of Christ, especially in Cornwall, where mermaid legends are many, and where this figure is found on bench ends and over porches. The explanation is found in the Cornish drama *Passio Domini*, the second of the fourteenth-century trilogy known as the *Ordinalia*. In this play, when two Doctors of Law argue as to whether Our Lord can be both God and Man, one of them brings forward the analogy of the mermaid.

Myreugh worth an morvoran,
Hanter pysk ha hanter den,
Y vos Deu ha Den yn wlan,
The'n keth tra-na crygyans ren.

Look at the mermaid,
Half fish and half human,
His being God and Man clearly,
To that same thing credence we give.

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The same argument occurs twice in the drama, and it is evident that the mermaid was taken as a type of the two Natures of Christ.

Another emblem or metaphor, which is mentioned in one of the Cornish miracle plays (*Beunans Meriasek*), is the Sunbeam, as a symbol of Christ's Birth from a Virgin. This metaphor is as old as the time of St. Ambrose, and is found in the arguments of Joseph and Evelach in the *Grand St. Grail* of Robert de Borron and in the thirteenth-century Christmas Carol *Dies est laetitiae.* Neale's translation of the last says:

> As the Sunbeam through the glass
> Passeth but not staineth,
> So the Virgin as she was
> Virgin still remaineth.

The Holy Ghost. As the רוּחַ, πνεύμα, "Spiritus," "Breath," of God is by its nature invisible and intangible and can only be expressed by symbol, Birds, the inhabitants of the air, are the natural similitudes to adopt. We read in the Gospels of the Holy Ghost under the appearance of a Dove descending on Christ at His Baptism, and the Dove has been since then the recognized symbol of the Holy Ghost, and has been much more widely adopted than His subsequent manifestation as a flame of fire, alighting upon Our Lady and the Apostles on the Day of Pentecost.

In the fifth century the Dove is shown descending upon the Blessed Virgin at the Annunciation. After this date the Holy Dove is commonly shown in depicting both these subjects, as well as the sacrament of Baptism. It appears frequently also

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over pictures of the Virgin and Child, and in pictures of the Creation where the "Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters." Usually it has a nimbus, frequently cruciform.

In representations of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Dove often hovers between the Father and the Son, and sometimes the tip of each wing seems to touch the mouth of each—"qui ex Patre Filioque procedit."

The colour generally used in representing the Holy Ghost as a Dove is the purest and most dazzling white, the symbol of light. The beak and claws are oftenest red, but sometimes golden. The nimbus surrounding it is of a golden yellow, or gold to represent rays of light, and divided by a cross which is generally red, the colour of love.

When the Holy Dove is made in metal, it is either of gold or silver or copper covered with most brilliant enamels and set with precious stones.

It was the usual custom in England and France during the Middle Ages to reserve the Blessed Sacrament in a "hanging pyx" made in the shape of a Dove, and suspended by chains from the roof in front of the high altar. This may still be seen in Amiens Cathedral. The ἀρτοφόριον or receptacle of the Blessed Sacrament in the Orthodox Eastern Church is also not infrequently in the form of a Dove. A Dove is often suspended over a baptismal font.

The Holy Spirit as a Dove bestowing the gift of Tongues is shown with flames proceeding

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KING DAVID INSPIRED BY THE HOLY SPIRIT AS A DOVE
ABOVE IS THE HAND OF GOD, HOLDING A HORN FROM WHICH ISSUE RAYS
From an English eleventh century MS. (Cott Tib. C. vi) in the British Museum

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from Him. These are expressed by red lines, or coloured flames. There is a good example in a thirteenth-century Book of Hours in the British Museum (Add. 17,012), where the Dove in a waved aureole is surrounded with golden rays, and the thirteen Tongues of Fire are of a bright scarlet. A Dove with or without rays is very commonly represented hovering above the Apostles in pictures of the Descent of the Holy Spirit. In the one painted window in St. Peter's Church in Rome is a white Dove on a yellow ground, above the Chair of St. Peter. In representations of Fathers and Doctors of the Church a Dove is often introduced to signify the inspired nature of their writings. St. Gregory the Great is frequently represented with a Dove on his shoulders.

The Holy Ghost was sometimes represented as bearing the soul of a dying saint to Heaven, though more usually that function is allotted to an angel. If, however, as some hold (though others do not), "per manus sancti Angeli tui" in the Canon of the Mass is a fragment of a lost *Epiklesis* and refers to the Holy Spirit, there is some reason for the variation. In the Cornish play of the *St. Meriasek* (1504) there is an English stage direction: "Ye holy goste aredy ffro hevyn to fett (fetch) y^e^ soule and y^e^ soule aredy." Probably a Dove and a figure of an infant were used.

A rare emblem of the Holy Ghost is an Eagle, the bird of power and might. There is an instance of an Eagle with a floriated nimbus on the roof of the Abbey Church of St. Albans. The Eagle is chiefly used to suggest the inspira-

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tion of the Holy Spirit to saints of the Old Law, such as David and Elisha, but it is not common.

The characteristic of the Holy Ghost is Wisdom, Intelligence, Understanding. The function of the Holy Ghost is to diffuse that "Light which lighteneth every man who comes into the world." All pious intellectual and scientific undertakings are inspired by Him. He has to do with the intellect of man; He enlightens the reason and reveals Himself to souls desiring to attain to the knowledge of truth. Hence His attributes are said to be divided into seven gifts:

"The Spirit of Wisdom, of Understanding, of Counsel, of Strength, of Knowledge, of Piety, of the Fear of the Lord."

These seven gifts are represented by seven Doves. They are sometimes placed round the head of the Blessed Virgin, who was full of the graces of God. Sometimes they are shown as rays of Light. On an eighteenth-century window in Chartres, six Doves are represented on rays of light proceeding from the infant Christ contained in the old Greek fashion in a vesica placed against the Blessed Virgin. The omission of one of the gifts is possibly intended to show that with Christ and His Mother the spirit of Holy Fear was not necessary. Our Lady reading is frequently attended either by the Holy Ghost as a Dove or by the seven Doves of the Spirit. There is a beautiful instance in a fourteenth-century window in the south aisle of Freiburg where St. Anne is shown teaching her little girl to read, and Our Lady clasps the Holy Spirit as a Dove to her breast.

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With the exception of Our Lady, the seven Holy Doves attend only on the Person of the Son of God.

A very singular instance of representing the seven gifts is in a twelfth-century window in the Abbey of St. Denis. Christ stands between two female figures representing the Jewish and Christian Churches. He lays His hand on the head of each, and over His heart is the Holy Dove in a circle of light, with doves in rays of light proceeding from it.

The seven Spirits are also represented as seven lamps. This is in accordance with the words of St. John in the Revelation: "And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God." In a French fourteenth-century MS. (Add. 17,333) the seven lamps are hanging from a pole behind the head of Christ.

Except in the case of the Lateran sarcophagus we do not often find the Holy Ghost represented under human form before the tenth century. What may be instanced as the very beginning of this form may be seen in a Saxon MS. of Caedmon in the Bodleian Library (2 Suppl. C. 638). It shows a mysterious winged figure holding a veil before its face rising over the surface of the waters, and represents the Spirit of God at the Creation.

There is a tenth-century MS. attributed to St. Dunstan, wherein the Three Divine Persons are shown in human form: the Eternal Father as an elderly man and an Emperor; Christ of about thirty years of age; and the Holy Ghost as a young and beardless man.

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In the twelfth century, in the MS. of Herrade, all Three Persons are equal in age and attitude, but it was not until the fourteenth century that the Holy Ghost was commonly depicted as a man.

From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century we find figures of the Holy Ghost in human form exceedingly common, and very curiously He is represented in many instances as a new-born infant. Gradually He is shown as an elder child, until in the sixteenth century the idea had gone back to that of the fourth century, and He is shown as a middle-aged man.

This differentiation of age in representing the Three Persons who are equally eternal was not as heretical as it looks, but was an effort to individualize the Three distinct Persons in their relationship of *Paternitas*, *Filiatio*, and *Spiratio*.

In later art this idea seems to have been lost, and the Holy Ghost is frequently shown as a wrinkled and old man, equal to the Father in age. Our ideas in representing this incomprehensible mystery are necessarily so imperfect that there is very little choice to be made as to which is the least inadequate.

During the Middle Ages the belief of the Church that the Holy Ghost is the special Guide and Instructor of the intelligence, the Director of all the sciences, and the direct inspiration of learning, was more consciously emphasized than at present. The great work of Taddeo Gaddi in S. Maria Novello at Florence illustrates this, where the seven earthly sciences of Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry,

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and Astrology, and the seven theological sciences and virtues, are all represented by suitable allegorical figures under the domination of the Holy Ghost.

Herrade, the Abbess of S. Odile, in Alsace, speaks of the Holy Spirit as the inventor of the seven liberal arts, and this conception of the Holy Ghost as the exposition of the intelligence and reason of God is carried out in a miniature in her MS.

On the same principle, as the Director of intellect, in representation of the Trinity, the Third Person sometimes carries a book.

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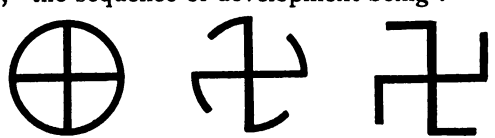
CHAPTER III

THE CROSS AND PASSION

THE Cross. The Cross is the principal sign and symbol of the Christian religion. It has been found over and over again as a religious or quasi-religious emblem in other religions, both before and after the beginning of Christianity. In the Egyptian system of hieroglyphic writing the sign ☥ (pronounced *ankh*) signified *life*. Some of the early Fathers saw in this a prophecy of what the Cross should bring to the world. A form which may possibly be this Egyptian symbol has been rarely found on Coptic monuments. It is thought that the *swastika* or *fylfot* cross, a very common emblem in all manner of paganisms, originated, at any rate in some cases, in a conventional representation of the "wheel of the sun," the sequence of development being :—



This, however, is by no means certain, for others connect it, as an Indian symbol, with the fire-sticks

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used to produce fire. Some writers have connected the oldest form of the *Labarum* with the same "Wheel," and have alleged that Constantine in his vision before the battle of the Milvian Bridge was "hedging" between Christianity and Mithraism, with perhaps Gaulish sun-worship included, and adopted a sign in which he could conquer all parties. This may or may not be so; but it is certain that Constantine before his conversion had a great devotion to the Sun-God, whether Apollo, Mithras or Ra, besides being an accomplished politician with no superfluity of scruples. Many of the Indian religions include the Cross among their emblems. This fact makes it doubtful whether we have any right to count as a Christian emblem the Cross on the coins of the son of that Gandipur (Gondiporus) who, according to a very early legend, was converted by St. Thomas. If this is Christian, it is the earliest instance of its use. The Mexican deity Quexicoatl, the destroyer of the serpent, had for his symbol a cross. Theories of the origin in this case are complicated by the existence of a vague tradition which traces this particular worship to a stranger who came from the East, and suggests a Norse or Irish wanderer, so that this cross may be, not a pagan coincidence, but either the hammer with which Thor slew the Mitgard Worm, or the Cross by which Christ bruised the serpent's head.

The existence of the Cross as a pagan emblem has been used to bring a charge of plagiarism against Christianity. There is no reason why

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pagan symbolism should not be taken over by Christianity if it happens to suit. If the Cross had harmless religious associations, there was no more need to abolish it than there was to invent a new word for the Syriac *Allaha*, instead of the pagan *Deus* and Θεός. But as a matter of historical fact, the Founder of the Christian religion was actually put to death on an instrument in the shape of a Cross, and the salvation of mankind by means of that death is the centre of His religion. Hence the origin of the Cross as a Christian emblem is evidently independent of any previous pagan usage, unless, which no believer in the truth of Christianity as a Divine revelation can deem impossible, the pagan usage was due to a Divine foreshadowing of that which was to come.

There are many allusions of a mystical sort to the Cross in the Bible. Without taking much account of fanciful types such as the wood for the sacrifice of Isaac, or the two sticks of the widow of Zarephath, we may at least allude to the Septuagint and Vulgate reading of Ezekiel ix. 4, δὸς σημεῖον τοῦ ταῦ, *signa thau*, where the English version has "set a mark," which does not express the Hebrew הִתְוִיתָ תָּו quite so well. The letter *Tau* or *Thau*, the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, though written ת in later Hebrew, was a cross in earlier time (Siloam inscription and Moabite stone ✕, Jewish coins ✝, Phœnician ✝). In the Hebrew the verb תָּוָה is also derived from *Thau*, and the phrase

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might be translated "cross a cross on the foreheads of the men that sigh and cry, etc." Already in earlier days the striking of the blood of the Paschal Lamb on the lintel and two side posts of the doors of the Israelite houses had made the sign of the Cross to save the firstborn from the destroyer. Later Our Lord Himself approved of the application of the type of the brazen serpent—"As Moses lifted up the Serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up." Moreover, Our Lord adopted the figure of bearing the Cross as an emblem of the Christian life. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me," and St. Paul uses "cross" in several passages as almost equivalent for "Christianity," where there is no possible borrowing from pagan imagery. But it is Our Lord Himself who calls it the "Sign of the Son of Man" which shall appear in Heaven at the Last Day.

St. Justin Martyr points out that the sign of the Cross is impressed on many natural objects and ordinary acts, and he and others have elaborated this idea. A ship sailing with crossed yards, a swimmer, a flying bird, all make the Sign. Most striking of all, perhaps, is the botanical fact that all of the class of cruciferous plants are not only not poisonous or harmful, but are actually nutritious and beneficial to man. No baneful herb bears the sign of the Cross.

The sign of the Cross was constantly used by the Early Christians as a means of recognition, and

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in connection with many actions of ordinary life. Tertullian calls Christians "Crucis religiosi," and says "Frontem crucis signaculo terimus." Clement of Alexandria mentions τοῦ Κυριακοῦ σημείου τύπος (the mark of the Lord's Sign). As an emblem on the early monuments it was commonly disguised, either by floriation and ornamentation or by association with some other sign, such as the anchor. It is not until the time of Constantine, when the vision of the Labarum and the finding of the True Cross suddenly brought the sign into prominence, that Christian artists ventured to display publicly and without disguise an emblem associated in the minds of pagan Romans with degradation and criminals.

When the Cross came into art and heraldry it assumed a variety of shapes. Some of these are merely ornamental and have no particular meaning, being only evidence of the necessity of differentiation in heraldry. But some forms are worthy of note.

1. The so-called *Latin Cross* is the simplest form of all. The lower limb is longer than the others, and its proportions represent the human form with outstretched arms,—

"Built in the mystic measure of the Cross,
Their lifted arms the transome: and their bulk
The tree, where Jesu stately stood to die."

This is the realistic Cross, and is usually that of a crucifix, though often floriated ends are given to it.

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2. The *Greek Cross*, for whose name there is no sort of reason, for it is not particularly used by the Greeks. It has all its limbs equal. In the English flag it is the Cross of St. George, red on a white ground.

3. The real *Greek Cross*, with the title and foot-rest conventionally represented. This is often used by the Orthodox Church with the figure of Our Lord either painted or carved in low relief thereon. The slanting position of the foot-rest has been the cause of a curious idea, current among the Russian *Raskolniks* or Separatists, that Christ had one leg shorter than the other.

4. The *Tau Cross* or *St. Anthony's Cross*. This is associated, though erroneously, with the *Thau* of Ezekiel ix. Though it is the form of the Greek letter *Tau*, it is not that of the old Hebrew, which is nearly a Latin Cross. It has been attributed in art to St. Anthony the Hermit from very early times.

5. The *Maltese Cross*, or eight-pointed Cross of the Order of St. John. This, in white, is the badge of the Knights Hospitallers of the Order of St. John. There is no particular reason for the shape. The various "Langues" of the Order add "differences" between the arms. The English Langue has lions, the French has fleurs-de-lis, and the so-called "Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England," which, though quite unconnected with the real Order, uses the same

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cross, has lions and unicorns. The Order of St. Stephen of Tuscany used a very beautiful red cross of the same shape. It is now extinct, though there are still survivors left, and the banners in its church at Pisa still testify to its good service at Lepanto.

6. The *St. Andrew's Cross*, in the form known in heraldry as a saltire, is, according to early legend, that on which the Apostle suffered martyrdom. In silver on an azure field it is the flag of Scotland.

The liturgical uses of the sign of the Cross are many and varied. In the Latin rite it is used with every sacrament; sometimes, as in the Mass, a considerable number of times. It is especially associated with certain forms of words, e.g. with *In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, with various parts of the verb *benedico*, with absolutions, with allusions to the faithful departed or to the life of the world to come. Its functions are associated with blessing, and the negative blessing of the expulsion of evil spirits. Thus when the Priest blesses at the end of Mass he makes the sign with uplifted hand, and making the Cross on one's body is popularly called "blessing oneself," and when the Bishop signs the Cross on the door of a church to be consecrated, he says, "*Ecce signum ✠ Crucis fugiant phantasmata cuncta.*" Though in the Eastern rites it is made officially rather less frequently, it is popularly used even more, and worshippers may often be seen repeating it over and over again with great rapidity. The idea of it may be summed

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up in the words of the "Exaposteilarion" for Wednesdays and Fridays in the Byzantine Divine Office. Σταυρὸς, ὁ φύλαξ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης· Σταυρὸς, ἡ ὡραιότης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Σταυρὸς, βασιλέων τὸ κραταίωμα· Σταυρὸς, πιστῶν τὸ στήριγμα· Σταυρὸς, Ἀγγέλων ἡ δόξα καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων τὸ τραῦμα. "The Cross, the guardian of all the world; the Cross, the adornment of the Church; the Cross, the power of kings; the Cross, the support of the faithful; the Cross, the glory of angels and the wounding of devils."

The sign is made differently in the East and the West. In the West it is made sometimes with the whole hand, sometimes with the thumb, sometimes by Bishops with the thumb and two fingers. In the East the thumb and first two fingers are joined at the tips, or in the case of giving the blessing the tips of the thumb and third finger are joined. In making the sign of the Cross on themselves, Latins touch the left breast first and then the right, Greeks make it from right to left. On the Third Sunday of Lent in the Orthodox Eastern Church there is the service of the Σταυροπροσκύνησις or Adoration of the Cross. The idea of it is embodied in the Troparion: Τὸν Σταυρόν σου προσκυνοῦμεν, Δέσποτα, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σου Ἀνάστασιν δοξάζομεν (Thy Cross, Master, we adore, and Thy holy Resurrection we glorify). It is not a penitential service like the Latin Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, but rather a festival anticipatory of Easter, and the table on which the cross rests is decorated with flowers. The still more impressive "Creeping to

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the Cross" on the Latin Good Friday is evidently of quite different origin.

Besides the sign of the Cross there are many liturgical and religious uses of the material cross. It is inscribed on the vestments, on the back and front of the chasuble, on the stole and maniple, and on the pallium and altar linen of the Latin Church, on the orarion and omophorion of the Eastern rite. A Bishop of either rite wears a pectoral cross. A cross is borne before an Archbishop, a similar cross with an extra cross-bar is allotted to a Patriarch, and a cross with a third cross-bar to a Pope, though in actual practice the last two are only used heraldically. A cross (crucifix) stands on the Latin altars during Mass. On Greek altars it is sometimes an upright cross on a stand and sometimes lies flat on the *mensa*. The first process in the founding of a church in the Latin rite, and in the Byzantine also, is the setting up of a wooden cross *ubi debet esse altare*. The Greek form is called the Σταυροπήγιον (Cross-fixing) and is mixed up with the Patriarchal permission for the founding of a new church or *lavra*. At the consecration this cross is placed behind the Holy Table. In the Latin rite, twelve crosses, three to each wall, are painted or engraved on the inside walls and are anointed with chrism at the time of consecration. They remain as evidence, in the absence of documents, of the consecration. On the slab of every altar five crosses are engraved, and these also are solemnly anointed at the consecration. In every Catholic churchyard there is also a cross or

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THE CRUCIFIXION, SYMBOLICALLY TREATED
From the picture by Fra Angelico at St. Mark's, Florence

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crucifix, often elaborated, as in so many Breton churchyards, into a Calvary, sometimes with many figures in it. In one part of Britain the wayside crosses and crucifixes often remain undisturbed, though these and the market crosses, which were once so common, were destroyed elsewhere, either at the Reformation or during the Puritan ascendancy. That the Cornish crosses escaped destruction is due partly to their material, for granite takes some destroying, and partly to the fact that the inhabitants of that country had no sympathy with either the Reformation or the Great Rebellion. But even in Cornwall the "Rood with Mary and John" was pulled down from almost every chancel screen, as was universally ordered and done throughout England. Now in modern times the roods are constantly being restored, and the Cross, which for a time only survived (and that rather apologetically) in Anglicanism in the one ceremony in baptism, is now coming back again in many forms.

The Crucifix is primarily not a symbol, but a representation of an event. It has become, however, a form of the symbolical Cross. In the West the Figure is fully sculptured; in the East, where images as distinguished from pictures are discouraged, it is usually painted or engraved on a cross, though it is sometimes found in relief. The Cross with a Figure on it does not appear in art until the beginning of the fifth century—perhaps one of the earliest instances is an ivory of that date in the British Museum. At first it is

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only part of the scene of the Crucifixion, but very soon it was used alone. The distinction between the idea of its separate use as a symbol and its use as part of an historical representation has been well understood in modern times, for there have been cases where a faculty was refused for a crucifix in a reredos in an English church unless the two thieves were included. In the older symbolical crucifixes, the Figure was often fully draped and crowned not with thorns, but with a royal crown, and Christ is represented not hanging from the Cross, but standing, "Dicite in nationibus, Dominus regnavit a ligno," as the older Latin psalter has it, an idea still preserved in the *Vexilla Regis* hymn of Venantius Fortunatus. Later it is Christ dead upon the Cross that is represented. The normal crucifix has the arms fully outstretched. There is a dreadful legend, which perhaps arose from the conventional crucifixes, the successors of those with the standing Figure, that the holes for the nails were bored too far apart, and that Our Lord's arms had to be forced to fit them. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there arose a more realistic type, with the arms high above the head. This is often associated with Jansenist teaching, and has been said to signify that Christ died for the few, not for the whole world. But there is no real authority for calling these "Jansenist" crucifixes. They were only attempts at realistic representation. Crucifixes, sometimes of gigantic size, are usual over the communion tables of Lutheran churches, where they were

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TYPICAL RUSSIAN CRUCIFIX, WITH EMBLEMS OF THE FATHER AND HOLY GHOST, ANGELS, SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF CHRIST, ETC.
From an eighteenth century specimen in gilt bronze in the possession of the author

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never abolished, and they have returned, though in spite of much opposition, to many English churches. In the East to the present day, and in the West until the end of the thirteenth century, the feet of Christ are always represented as nailed apart, with a separate nail through each. Since about 1300 it has been more common in the West to represent the two feet pierced by a single nail. The older form, however, is still used, especially in German art, and is apparently only a question of custom.

The Passion. The mystery of the Passion of Christ was symbolically represented by portraying the instruments of the Passion. The number and position of these objects vary very much; they were frequently placed on shields and introduced into stained glass, on bench-ends, on capitals of pillars and in a great variety of places. The Cross usually occupies the most important place, but it was not always introduced. There are five emblems of the Passion commonly used in devotional services in the Catholic Church, viz. :—

The Crown of Thorns.
The Spear and Nails.
The Five sacred Wounds.
The most precious Blood.
The Winding-sheet.

Other emblems very frequently introduced into art are :—

The Seamless Garment.
The Reed.
The Scourge.

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The Pillar.
The Bandage used for blindfolding Christ.
The Purple Robe of mockery.
The Cock.
Two Hands buffeting, and a Mouth, or Head, in the act of kissing.
The Purse of Judas, or the Thirty Pieces of Silver.
The Ladder.
The Sacred Monogram.
The Cup.
The Sun and Moon veiled.
The Sponge on a Reed.
The Lantern.
The Dice cast by the soldiers.
The Hammer and Pincers.
The Sword.
The Pitcher and Towel used in washing the feet of the disciples.
The Cloth of S. Veronica.
The Skull of Adam.

There is a very full set of the emblems of the Passion on the screen of the Catholic Church of the Holy Rood at Watford, one of Bentley's best works.

Sometimes these emblems are held in the hands of angels. The story of the cloth of S. Veronica identifies her with the woman who touched the hem of Christ's garment. Legend relates that she was with the daughters of Jerusalem who mourned over Christ's terrible journey to Calvary, and seeing the blood and sweat streaming down His face as He fell beneath the cross, she gave her veil to Him to wipe His face, and when He gave it her back the lineaments of His sacred countenance were imprinted in His blood on the cloth.

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THE EMBLEMS OF THE PASSION

From the title-page of Sir Thomas More's translation of the Life of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, printed by Wynkyn de Worde

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The nails are generally three in number, though sometimes they are four.

There is a pretty legend of the Crossbill which speaks of its trying with its bill to pull out the nails from Christ's hands and feet and its being unable to do so; but its bill got twisted into a cross shape, which it has retained ever since. There is a similar legend of the robin drawing out one of the thorns, and its little breast, becoming stained with the blood of Christ, has kept the same hue ever since.

The Scourging of Christ is variously represented in art. Legend says that He was scourged with whips like a slave, and the bundle of cords tied to a handle, known as a scourge, is one of the implements of the Passion frequently portrayed. Other accounts speak of long rods being used, and bundles of twigs tied together represent this flagellation. In Scotland it is believed that the dwarf birch is stunted in growth because it was from the branches of this tree that the scourge was made. Others hold that the long rods of the willow were used, and the tree has drooped its branches ever since.

One of the medieval methods of representing the Passion of Christ was to portray only the hands and feet pierced by the nails and the heart, with rays of light proceeding from them. A flaming heart with a wound in it has the same significance. Sometimes the heart is placed in an aureole of glory, in the centre of the cross.

The Banner of the Five Wounds was borne by the Catholic insurgents of the North in the rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace in Henry VIII's

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time, and by the Cornish insurgents in 1549. The English devotion to the Five Wounds degenerated after the Reformation into the old swear-word *Zounds*, i.e. "God's Wounds," and its adjective *woundy*, both now happily obsolete. The modern devotion to the Sacred Heart, (which was curiously enough not of Catholic but of English Puritan origin, though the visions of the Visitation nun, Margaret Mary Alacocque, gave the real impetus to it,) is founded on the devotion to our Lord's Wounds with an added reference to the Blessed Sacrament.

The Passion Flower, called in Mexico the Flower of the Five Wounds, derives its name from the resemblance that may be traced in it to the emblems of the Passion.

The five anthers represent the Five Wounds. The triple style shows the three nails, the column is shown by the central part of the flower, and the filaments represent the crown of thorns, while the calyx is the nimbus. The leaf is of the shape of a spear head, the tendrils symbolize the whips and cords, and the blue and white colour purity and Heaven. The flower's life of three days symbolizes Christ lying in the tomb. So good was the apparent symbolism that there were serious discussions, on the first introduction of the flower into Europe, as to whether the Passion Flower was a real flower or an invention of the Jesuits.

In legendary lore the Arum Maculatum, the spotted Persicaria, and the wood sorrel were plants growing at the foot of the Cross, and received drops of Christ's blood upon them.

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EUCHARISTIC ECCE HOMO
By Pietro Perugino, Pinacoteca Vannucci, Perugia

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The story of the Wandering Jew is a legend full of symbolism. The tale is that a doorkeeper of Pontius Pilate, when Christ was being dragged from the Hall, struck Him, saying, "Go faster, Jesus, go faster." Another version says that Christ rested against his house, but the man struck Him and bade Him go on. Upon which Christ looked upon him and said, "I am indeed going, but thou shalt tarry till I come," and from that time he has been a wanderer to and fro upon the earth, renewing his youth every hundred years, but never permitted the oblivion of death. He may be said to typify the uneasy state of the soul wandering through the dry places of this world, seeking rest but never finding it, because it has rejected Christ.

The Eucharistic Ecce Homo is a highly mystical subject, but very little understood at the present day. I do not know of an instance of its being painted since the seventeenth century. It was extremely popular during the greatest period of Italian art. It grew out of devout meditation on the Passion of Christ and His presence in the Holy Eucharist. Usually He is shown as a half-length figure above His tomb, alone, crowned with thorns, His hands and heart pierced, His eyes seeking the sinner. It is a visualization of the mystery of Christ present in the Eucharist on the altar of His Church.

The symbolism of the Cup as containing a full measure of affliction is often used by Christ. He asks St. James and St. John if they can drink of His cup, and especially during the Agony in the

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garden He prayed that this cup may pass from Him.

In pictures of this scene it is usual to depict an angel bearing a chalice in his hand in allusion to Our Lord's words. The Cup is the "symbol of destiny" and is used not only as the chalice of affliction, but also to symbolize the mystery of the Eucharist.

In the catacombs it is used in this sense, and usually has small loaves marked with a cross resting on it. This and a platter with a Fish lying on it is the earliest symbolical method of representing Christ present in the Holy Eucharist. This occurs in a very early fresco in the catacombs.

An interesting instance of this subject is in a work by Savonarola, printed in 1492, where Christ, holding His cross, standing on an altar, is allowing the blood from His outstretched hand to drop into a chalice. With this form is associated the well-known idea of the Holy Grail,

> The vessel of the Pasch, Shere Thursday night;
> The self-same cup, wherein the faithful Wine
> Heard God, and was obedient unto Blood,

which Joseph of Arimathea brought to the foot of the cross, and

> Therewith he knelt, and gathered blessed drops
> From his dear Master's side that sadly fell.

How and where exactly the legend of the Grail and its Quest arose, and how far a previously existing pagan Celtic legend, indicated in the Welsh tale of Peredur, is mixed up with it, has

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not yet been satisfactorily determined; but the Cornish traditional saying, "Joseph was in the tin-trade," suggests a reason why St. Joseph should come to Britain, and one of the legends grouped round the saying makes mention of an earlier visit, when Our Lord, as a boy, and His Mother, were of his company.

As an instance of the application of the symbolism of the Passion to the affairs of daily life may be cited a probably unique fifteenth-century fresco in the Church of St. Breage, near Helston, in Cornwall. It represents a gigantic figure of Christ surrounded by the implements of various handicrafts, saws, reaping hooks, scythes, carts, hammers, axes, shuttles, etc., on to which jets of blood stream from our Lord's Body. The meaning is evidently the sanctification of common life and labour by the Passion, probably through the Eucharist.

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CHAPTER IV

THE WORLD OF SPIRITS

ANGELS. The classification of the Nine Choirs of Angels probably dates back to Jewish tradition. There is a hint of it in the "Thrones or Dominions or Principalities or Powers" of St. Paul (Col. i. 16), but probably the earliest definite statement of the system is found in the fourth-century work "On the Celestial Hierarchy (*περὶ τῆς οὐρανίας ἱεραρχίας*)," attributed by the writer of it to Dionysius the Areopagite. The Antiochene Liturgies (i.e. the Clementine and both the Greek and Syriac St. James) as well as the Byzantine St. Basil, in the part of the Preface (to use the Western term) immediately preceding the *Sanctus*, enumerate the Nine Choirs, though not in the same order as the pseudo-Dionysius. The Alexandrian and East Syrian Liturgies, and that of St. John Chrysostom, allude to them less definitely, and the Roman Prefaces mention five or four choirs "cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus," while the Anglican reduces them to the lowest terms of "angels and archangels and all the company of Heaven." There is a rather learned dissertation on the subject in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, in which the classifications of Diony-

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sius, St. Gregory and St. Bernard are compared. This probably embodies the current medieval ideas, as expressed both before and after the twelfth century in art.

The system, preserving the order of the pseudo-Dionysius, perhaps the earliest, and the most usual, is as follows :—

The angelic host is divided into three hierarchies :

1. Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones.
2. Dominions, Virtues, Powers.
3. Principalities, Archangels, Angels.

Those celestial ones who are nearest God, who palpitate with the radiance of His light, and are the greatest of all created things, receive their being from God Himself, and transmit His glory to the next in order, who again transmit it to the lowest hierarchy.

The disposition of the three hierarchies is as follows :—

The first are councillors, and have no direct doings with man, but are utterly absorbed in perpetual love and adoration of God, Whom they see and love with greater intensity than any other creatures.

The second are governors, dominations, virtues, and powers ; they are the kings and controllers of the stars and elements. Earth scarcely comes within their scope—and only as a star.

The third hierarchy are the protectors of our world, and the messengers of God, the executants of His will, the perpetual guardians of the children of men.

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To all these celestial beings the term angel is loosely and inaccurately applied, for in Greek it simply means messenger, and properly speaking refers only to the two orders of angels in direct communication with man, angels and archangels.

The Seraphim are described in the sixth chapter of Isaiah, and this description is usually followed in art: "Each one had six wings, with twain he covered his face, with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly." A further suggestion from Ezekiel (though about Cherubim) makes their feet rest upon a fiery wheel. Their colour is fiery red, the name being referred to the root שָׂרַף (saraph) to burn. A fine instance of the medieval idea of a seraph is in the fourteenth-century Arundel Psalter (Ar. 83) in the British Museum.

The Cherubim, mentioned vaguely as winged creatures in Exodus xxxvii. 7–9, are described by Ezekiel (chap. x.) as having "four faces apiece and every one four wings and the likeness of the hands of a man under their wings." But this description is not commonly followed in art, nor is the epithet which is found in the liturgies of St. Mark and St. Basil, πολυόμματα, "many-eyed." This was probably suggested by St. John's description of the Four Living Creatures, whose faces are attributed by Ezekiel to the Cherubim. In art they are usually represented of a sapphire blue and having childlike faces with wings, or in later art as ludicrous fat babies. Ezekiel's substitution of "the face of a cherub" in x. 14, for "the face of an ox" of i. 10, makes it seem as if his idea

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CHERUBIM, WITH MYSTICAL APPLICATIONS OF THE SIX WINGS AND THEIR FEATHERS TO "SEX ACTUS MORUM"

From an English fourteenth century Psalter (Arr. 83) in the British Museum

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was taken from the winged bull of the Assyrians. The etymology of the word is very doubtful.

Some recent Assyriological research connects the Seraphim with the lightning and the Cherubim with the wind, taking *Cherub* to be a transposition of *Rechub* (רְכוּב), a chariot (cf. Ps. xviii. 10, "He rode upon the Cherubim and did fly: He came flying on the wings of the wind"), and connecting *seraph* with *saraph* (שָׂרַף), the "fiery flying serpent" of Isaiah xiv. 29.

The Thrones are represented as fiery wheels full of eyes. There is a fine example of these almost forgotten Powers in the convent church of Kaisariani on Mount Hymettus. There the winged fiery wheel is a throne for the Divine feet of Almighty God.

The second order of Angels, according to the Greek use, should wear albs, golden girdles and green stoles; they are represented in human form, but winged. They sometimes bear globes and sceptres. They can be seen in great and solemn array in their places in the nine ranks on the cupola of the convent church of Iviron on Mount Athos.

The Principalities and Archangels should be of human form, winged, and in soldier's garb, with golden belts and carrying arms in their hands. The Angels should be robed as deacons and carry, as messengers, wands, symbolizing their authority from the Most High.

Though the connection of wings with angelic forms is certainly as old as Ezekiel and even Moses, they were not so represented in the earliest

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Christian art. In Etruscan and Egyptian art, and in Assyrian, it had long been the custom to represent divinities with wings. In the early days of the Israelites we read of the winged creatures who protected the Mercy seat, but the earliest Christian angels are, curiously enough, not winged. Though the Angels are represented as of bodily shape, the Greek liturgical epithet is always Ἀσώματοι the Bodiless Ones.

Art has chiefly concerned itself with depicting the two lowest orders of angels, whose mission, according to the Gospels, appears to be the guidance and care of human souls. From the words of Christ respecting little children whose "angels do always behold the face of my Father in Heaven," there has always been a belief in the Church that each baptized soul has one of these heavenly guardians given it. These are the angels who rejoice over one sinner that repents, and nothing but deliberate and wilful sin persisted in can drive away the heavenly guide.

This idea of perpetual guardianship is most beautifully rendered in a series of mosaics attributed by Dr. Richter to the second century, in S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, representing the advent of Christ. In these, wherever Mary His Mother stands, two solemn white angels stand beside her to guard her.

One of the most beautiful conceptions of angels is that of their being the choristers of Heaven. Though occupied with the wandering sinful children of men, their sublime intelligences are never ignorant of, nor forgetful of the perpetual

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chorus of praise which ascends from their seraphic brethren. Some of the most beautiful representations of angels in art have been of this function of perpetual adoration. It is almost impossible to wander through any early or medieval Christian church, which has not been ruthlessly mutilated, and not find instances of the angelic choir whose highest happiness is praise. It was a very early custom in Christian art to introduce angels into pictures and sculptures of Our Lady. Sometimes they encircle her in silent adoration of her incomparable state of the Theotokos, or they surround her, *Regina Angelorum*, with songs of jubilation and praise.

The three great functions of the angels are choristers, messengers, and guardians. Their proper place is above humanity, which has been made a little lower than they are. Thus in pictures and sculptures they are properly the only creatures who immediately surround the Persons of the Trinity or the Divine Mother and her Son.

In old church architecture the angels fill the upper spaces of the walls and arches near the altar, or they advance in grand procession along the nave to do honour to the Sacrifice and bear the implements of the Mass. A remarkably fine example of this majestic subject is to be seen in the cathedral at Rheims, where they bear not only the chalice, gospels, etc., but also the sun, moon, the sceptre, and the sword, which they are about to cast at the feet of Christ as Lord of all. The cupolas of Greek churches often contain row upon row of these celestial beings absorbed in praise.

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Among the innumerable multitude of the angels there are only seven who have to us distinct individualities, and these are the Archangels, who are an order of celestial beings in themselves, and stand between the Angels and the Principalities, and partake of the nature of both, for like the Angels they are messengers, but like the Principalities they are in themselves Powers.

1. Michael (Who is like God?), the Captain (Ἀρχιστράτηγος) of the Host of Heaven, who overcame the Dragon. He wears armour, a sword and shield.

2. Gabriel (the Man of God), the Angel of the Annunciation. He carries a lily, a palm branch or olive.

3. Raphael (the Healing of God), the chief of the guardian angels, the guide of Tobias. He carries a pilgrim's staff and gourd.

4. Uriel (the Fire of God), the interpreter of prophecies, who was sent to Esdras. He carries a roll or book.

These four are the only ones mentioned by name in the Bible.

5. Chamuel (the Wrath of God), the angel who wrestled with Jacob. He carries a cup and a staff.

6. Jophiel (the Splendour of God), the angel who guarded the gate of Paradise. He bears a flaming sword.

7. Zadkiel (the Justice of God), the angel who stayed the hand of Abraham. He carries a sacrificial knife.

The seven archangels also bear seven trumpets,

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in allusion to St. John's description in the Apocalypse.

In most of the great pictures of the Last Judgment the seven archangels bear a conspicuous place. Perhaps the most terrible and awe-inspiring are those in Orcagna's *Last Judgment* in Pisa. Michael, the great angel of Judgment, stands below the throne of Christ, on his right are the blessed, on his left the damned. Below him crouches the guardian angel of Humanity, Raphael the merciful, who half hides his face at the spectacle of inexorable justice. Beneath these two the other five archangels are separating the just from the unjust. They are dressed as princes and warriors.

Except in representations of the Last Judgment and in mystical representations of Heaven, the seven archangels are not often portrayed together.

In many ancient churches where it was the frequent custom to represent Christ in glory on the roof, four angels stood at the corners or bore in their arms the circle which surrounded Christ. In S. Vitale at Ravenna, S. Zeno at Verona and S. Prassede in Rome, can be seen good examples of these four "who sustain the throne of God."

The archangels winged and armed also stand over the choirs and altars.

St. Michael was the leader of the hosts of heaven who cast out Lucifer and his angels. He was the protector of the Jewish nation of Daniel's vision. Origen (Homilia in Num.) considers that as protector of Israel he was probably the angel who

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appeared to Balaam, but Hebrew commentators say that that was Gabriel. In a strange Jewish legend alluded to by St. Jude he disputes with Satan about the body of Moses, a story which seems an echo of the incident in the prophecy of Zacharias. Everywhere he appears as the fighting champion of good against evil, and it is in this aspect, trampling on the dragon, that he is most frequently represented in art. Another aspect of St. Michael is that of the weigher of the souls, like the Egyptian Thoth. Thus he appears in the medieval "Doom" pictures in many old English churches. And he is also the guardian of the souls of the dead, and there is a tradition that he received the soul of Our Blessed Lady herself into his care until it re-animated her body at her assumption into Heaven.

In the Western Church St. Michael takes the place of Apollo as the guardian of high places and mountain-tops. Perhaps the likeness of the myth of Apollo slaying the python to the story of St. Michael overcoming the dragon suggested this. In the Eastern part of Christendom it is St. Elias (the prophet) who takes this place, an idea suggested partly by the fiery chariot and partly perhaps by the similarity of the name Elias to ἥλιος, the Sun. And the apparitions of St. Michael, which are many, are mostly on high places. The earliest was at Colossæ in Phrygia (commemorated on September 6th by the Greeks). Some have thought that St. Paul alluded to this legend in Colossians ii. 18. The great apparition on Monte Gargano in South Italy in 491 is com-

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ST. MICHAEL

From a leaf of an ivory diptych of the time of Theodosius (375-395) in the British Museum

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memorated on May 8th. In the time of St. Gregory, St. Michael appeared on the Mausoleum of Hadrian, now known as the Castle of St. Angelo, and stayed a plague in Rome. In the end of the sixth century an appearance of St. Michael to Aubert, Bishop of Avranches, caused the foundation of a church on Mont St. Michel, and lastly in 710 (October 16th) "the Great Vision of the guarded Mount" resulted in the dedication of Dinsul, the Mount of the Sun, and all Cornwall, to the Archangel, who had then "planted the tabernacle of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain."

Though St. Gabriel is mentioned once in the Old Testament when he is commanded by "a man's voice between the bank of Ulai" to make Daniel understand his vision, it is as the angel of the Annunciation that he is chiefly known in art. It is exceedingly rare to find representations of him in art in any other capacity than this of the bringer of good tidings, the angel of the Εὐαγγελισμός, as the Greeks call that day. In all the best instances this subject is treated as a great religious mystery, and comprises in itself a complete epitome of Christianity, for it expresses the Fatherhood of God, the personality of the Holy Ghost, the Incarnation of the Son of God, and His redemption of the world. Except a crucifix, no other subject contained so much direct teaching of Christianity.

Not only was there this direct teaching, but there was also in pictures of the Annunciation the

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symbolical teaching of the call to the individual soul by the voice of God's messenger.

St. Raphael by himself occurs in art only in the one scene, in which he is mentioned in Scripture, the journey of Tobias.

The form that the angels have taken in art is almost as diverse as the imagination of man. From the majestic, solemn winged figures of the early mosaics, where they are clothed with the priestly pallium, their feet shod for a journey, and bear sceptres as kings, they have descended through every vagary of the artistic mind. There is a fine Greek MS. in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale which shows how this classical idea prevailed down to the ninth century, after which time in the general decadence of art the angels became stiff and contorted figures, chiefly remarkable for their rich garments and wings. This Byzantine idea influenced Ciambue and Giotto, who are among the last to show the awful and stern side of this immaculate purity of the angelic nature.

The artist *par excellence* of the angels must be said to be Fra Angelico, for no one else has depicted the passionless calm of those beings who have never known sin nor sorrow. They are absolutely unearthly, superhuman, and inimitable, for they were painted from saintly visions, not studio models, and all attempts to copy them leave out in some mysterious way the supernatural and only present the sentimental.

All through the great period of Italian art the

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ENTRY OF THE BLESSED INTO PARADISE

From a painting by Fra Angelico, Royal Gallery, Florence

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greatest artists have left us wonderful and adorable instances of their conceptions of the angelic nature. Perugino, Botticelli, Francia, the Bellini, Titian, Raphael, the Lippi, are among the names which instantly occur to everyone as supreme painters of angels.

Leonardo da Vinci, Domenichino, Guido, the Caracci and their followers show the beginning of the degradation of the angel into a simpering nondescript youth, or a sentimental young lady.

The degradation of the Cherubim about this time was complete. From the intelligence which was so near God's as to understand Him, and understanding perpetually adore Him, expressed by heads enclosed in wings of fire, the cherubim have become fat and naughty little boys with no more spirituality about them than puppies. They riot and romp, and seem to yell while they scatter flowers in impish and annoying ways. In one German instance they rob a bird's nest. Could anything better show the difference between the religion of the Popes and people who erected the old Roman mosaics with their worshipping archangels and of the painters of these disgraceful little boys of the Renaissance?

Devils.—Legend relates that God revealed to the Angelic Hosts His purpose in the redemption of man by His Son's Incarnation. Lucifer, the angel next to the Divinity in glory and power, refused to worship God who would deign to take upon Himself the inferior nature of man. This pride of the created against the Creator met with instantaneous and terrible punishment. "There

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was war in Heaven. Michael and His angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in Heaven. And the great Dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him" (Rev. XII. 7-9). Christ Himself says in St. Luke X. 18, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." From these sources and in the early chapters of Genesis come the Christian's idea of the Devil.

"Satan, master of Hell," is the actual principle of evil. He is served by countless hosts of lesser spirits, that "third of the stars of heaven," whom the great red Dragon drew after him when in vision he beheld the Woman who should bear the Redeemer of the world.

Of his various titles, "Lucifer" is the most awe-inspiring and terrible, for he was the created brightness of the actual glory of God, so sublime as to be next to God Himself. Lucifer throned as King, Emperor of demons, has a terrible and awful majesty about him which is lost in later art under the repulsive forms of semi-beasts and monstrosities which prevailed. There is a wonderful ninth-century drawing of him in a MS. of S. Gregory Nazianzen in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which represents him as a youth with angelic wings, black in colour but with neither horns nor hoofs. Ary Scheffer, in his picture of the *Temptation of Christ*, is one of the few artists who have adapted this nobler conception

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THE FALL OF THE REBEL ANGELS
From the Chantilly Book of Hours, fifteenth century

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of the devil, for he gives him an ideal angelic form tortured by eternal despair.

There is an ivory diptych, of the date of Charles the Bald, which has a fine representation of the Devil in human form. He has horns, and a serpent twined about his body.

Though there is a complete and beautiful order in the hierarchies of the Angels, such order, which is "Heaven's first law," does not seem to exist among the devils. It is not easy to disentangle their personalities and orders. Of Satan or Lucifer, their chief, there can be little doubt, though some have even considered these two names to apply to different beings, but even to him the names of various pagan deities, Ahriman, Typhon, Beelzebub, Baal, Moloch and others have been given. These are no doubt applied on the principle that the gods of the heathens must be devils — an instance of the amenities of primitive theological controversy. Manichæan influence nearly elevated the Enemy of Mankind into an evil deity, inferior no doubt to the good God, but still godlike. This conception did not last long and made but little impression on art. In the early days of Christian art, the emblematic serpent of Genesis, the Dragon of the Apocalypse, or the genius of a pagan idol, were the principal forms under which Satan appeared. But in scenes like the temptation of Our Lord he appears in human form, and, later, this form becomes hideous, grotesque, bestial, often comic, and always low and degraded. The medieval Western conception of

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Satan, whether in art or literature, is not that of the majestic fallen angel of Milton, but of a poor creature of small abilities (for he is easily outwitted by the simplest tricks), malicious, dirty, and ugly. He is the comic relief to the sublimity of religion. These ideas may be studied in the gargoyles of churches, where the fancy of medieval artists gave itself full play in symbolizing the degradation of beings turned away from God. But there was no fixed alphabet of symbolism. A very good example of the medieval devil may be seen in the rose window in the west transept of Chartres Cathedral. In this the forms are human, but the actions and heads are bestial. There is a fine specimen also in a South French fifteenth-century Book of Hours in the British Museum (Add. MS. 27,697).

Dr. E. J. Witkowski, in a book entitled *L'Art Profane à l'Église, ses licenses symboliques, satiriques et fantaisistes* (Paris, 1908), has dealt very exhaustively with the diabolic and depraved side of medieval iconography, as exemplified in the churches of France. According to this writer, the examples of this kind of symbolism in France are extraordinarily numerous—the book contains over six hundred plates—and they show the imagination of the artists in a not very pleasing light. But the horrors and frequent obscenity of these sculptures do not necessarily imply an evil imagination in the artists. The realism and literalism of the Middle Ages surpass anything that we can now imagine. To those simple-minded people evil was evil and must be

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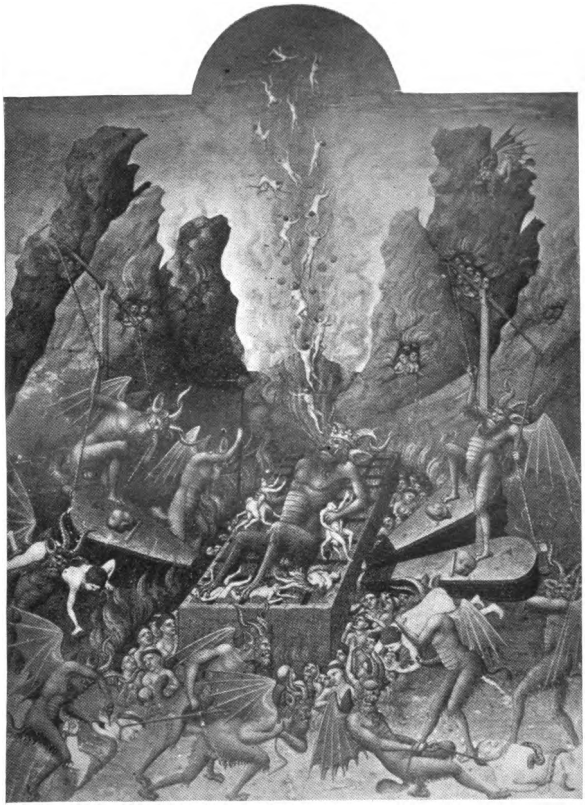

HELL
From the Chantilly Book of Hours, fifteenth century

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portrayed as such, and Satan and his emissaries were not to be transformed into angels of light, so that the uglier and more repulsive these evil beings were represented, the better the moral effect.

With the Renaissance and the return of certain early Greek and Latin ideas, the Devil appears under the form of the ancient Satyr, with the body and head of a man, but the feet and horns of a goat. I am told, but I have not seen it, that the latest representations of the Devil occur most appropriately in Paris, under the form of a French *bourgeois*, with the white shirt and black clothes of correct evening dress.

It was in the East, always more fantastic than the West, that the most grotesque and horrible conception of the Devil arose. Probably the influence of the Persian Ahriman, the rival evil God, as a being almost equal in power and majesty to the good God, influenced Eastern Christianity. No monstrosity was too outrageous or too hideous to use in representing this diabolical personage. All the attributes of the animals are combined with the human form in the most sickening and repulsive manner. Monsters with three heads, with mouths in their bodies, from which issue snakes, claws for hands and feet, scales and horns on their bodies, and every device that can make them repulsive, were freely used, to represent the Devil.

In the East men's fancies revel in monstrosities of a rank and exuberant nature. The spirituality of the Devil became lost in his degradation

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into mere bestiality. His stupendous intellect became extinguished in mere animal characteristics, until at last, from being the most intellectual, the most subtle of the highest angelic Order, he becomes a buffoonery of animal forms, not even human, much less angelic.

Doubtless this result was also reached by endeavours of artists to represent the many-headed dragon of the Revelation, and from the symbolical point of view there is a deep and awful meaning in showing that even the angels themselves can so degenerate as to be not only the equal of man but far below man, inasmuch as they partake of the mere animal life and lust of the unintellectual brute creation.

The Soul. Christianity did not invent any new iconography of the soul, but adopted the ancient pagan method of representation. Birds, butterflies, and little naked sexless human figures, with or without wings, were the ancient emblems of the unseen soul of man, and their use continued into modern times.

The fable of Psyche, representing the living winged creature springing from the chrysalis, so poetic and beautiful, was adapted by Christianity, though never to any great extent. One of the latest instances of this symbolic idea of Psyche occurs in a mosaic in St. Mark's in Venice, where Christ the Creator holds the little fluttering soul of Eve by its butterfly wings.

In Egyptian art the soul was represented as a bird, and this symbol was in constant use during the early ages of Christianity. The figure

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under which the Holy Ghost is spoken of in the Scriptures being that of a Dove, very naturally led to this symbol of birds representing the soul. Birds, the denizens of the air, carried out the symbolism of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Breath.

The soul was believed to escape from the body through the mouth with the last breath. In the Cornish poem of the Passion it is stated that the bursting asunder of the body of Judas was the effort of the devils to drag the wretched soul from the body, for it could not pass through the mouth which Christ had kissed. In the catacombs, and in early mosaic art, birds flitting among foliage, delighting in fruit and flowers, or drinking out of a vase or from rivers, represent the souls of the Blessed in the enjoyment of the perpetual pleasures of Paradise, rejoicing in the fruits of the spirit, and in the waters of salvation. They are often clothed with the most magnificently coloured plumage, and have wonderful tails and crests and are jewels of colour. When the symbol merely represents the death of a person the bird is usually a dove, quite white and colourless. It is usually issuing from the mouth or flying upwards.

In the legend of St. Polycarp, who suffered martyrdom by burning alive, it is related that from his ashes a beautiful white dove arose, which fled towards Heaven and was no more seen. A similar story is given by an Englishman who witnessed the death of Joan of Arc, and who made a written deposition (Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vol. v. p. 176) to the effect that he saw

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a dove fly from the mouth of Joan and rise to Heaven as she breathed her last.

After the tenth century it became the custom to represent the soul only after the old Greek fashion as a little naked sexless human figure, and this has obtained all through the Middle Ages down to the present day.

Pictures of the death of the Blessed Virgin are exceedingly common ; usually Christ stands beside her and receives her white soul into His arms. In numerous pictures of deaths of the saints the soul is seen issuing from the mouth, and is received by angels. At the death-bed of the wicked the soul is sometimes black ; in the case of Judas it is even impish and devilish.

In the fourteenth-century Arundel Psalter (Ar. 83) in the British Museum the soul of Lazarus is being taken from his mouth in the form of a child by angels, while that of Dives is taken by devils. The soul is sometimes depicted in an aureole of light ascending to Heaven. A striking instance of this is in a thirteenth-century window in Chartres Cathedral, where the soul of St. Martin enclosed in an aureole of light floats up to God.

Souls weighed in the balance by the angels while demons strive to pull down the scales were very common subjects on the doors and porches of churches and on windows. In Martham church, Norfolk, the souls of the just are in one balance kneeling in prayer, while demons cling to the other side in vain.

There is a curious illustration of a death-bed in Henry VIII's Book of Hours in the British

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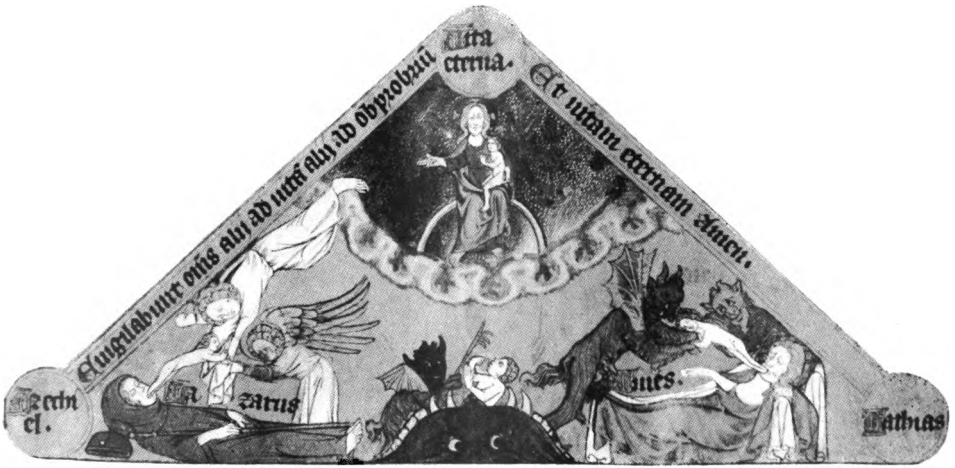

DEATHS OF DIVES AND LAZARUS. DEVILS BEAR AWAY THE SOUL OF DIVES, AND ANGELS THAT OF LAZARUS. ABOVE, LAZARUS IN ABRAHAM'S BOSOM; BELOW, DIVES IN HELL

From an English fourteenth century Psalter (Ar. 83) in the British Museum

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ANGEL AND DEVIL, THE LATTER WITH SCROLL OF EVIL DEEDS, FIGHTING FOR THE SOUL OF A DEAD MAN

From a Flemish sixteenth century Book of Hours (King's 9) in the British Museum
The book belonged to Henry VIII

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Museum, where the little soul praying in an aureole of light rises from the dead man, while his good angel, armed with sword and shield, fights with a demon who holds a long scroll written with the evil deeds of the dead.

A very beautiful rendering of the text, "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God," is on the outside of Rheims Cathedral. There is a literal representation of this text in the Convent at Salamis on an eighteenth-century fresco which shows five little souls enveloped in a gigantic Hand.

The *Last Judgment*, or the *Doom*, was a subject that during the Middle Ages was commonly painted on the west end of churches, and was treated in a highly symbolical manner. Such a subject would empty most churches, if so painfully called to notice to-day. Christ was usually represented on the upper part of the wall, seated on a rainbow, displaying his wounds, and sometimes holding a sharp two-edged sword in His mouth, in allusion to the Vision in the Revelation. The Blessed Virgin and St. John Baptist kneel on either side. The great archangels blowing the trumpets and the lesser angels go forth from Christ and separate the good from the evil. Devils claim the wicked and thrust them into the gaping mouth of Hell, from which flames are issuing, while the just are led in the embraces of the angels to a Paradise of Beauty.

The *Harrowing of Hell*, i.e. the descent of Christ into Hades, and His leading forth the souls of the Redeemed, was a natural and grate-

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ful relief to these dread imaginings. Christ, clothed in the white robe of Victory and bearing the cross of Triumph in His hand, stands in the radiance of His Glory within the gates of Hell. The discomfited demons fly and howl at his approach; within the jaws of Hell and Death a great company of souls, headed by Adam and Eve, await with joy and adoration the advent of the Conqueror. The story of the event occurs in the Gospel of Nicodemus, as the narrative of Charinus and Lenthius, the sons of the Simeon of the *Nunc dimittis*, who were those who came out of their graves after the Crucifixion.

Representations of *Paradise* are not common in art. In pictures of Christ in Glory, the Trinity, the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, and the Last Judgment, Heaven is usually represented by circles of adoring angels, and outside these the Apostles, Martyrs, Doctors, Fathers of the Church, holy men and women, seated on or surrounded by clouds. Fra Angelico is one of the few artists who have endeavoured to portray the "New Earth" which will be for the delectation of the faithful. He paints a flowery meadow with angels and saints hand in hand in sweetest fellowship seeming to circle with rhythmic movement over the flowery grass. Yet in representations of *Hell* there are plenty of instances of how easily men's imaginations run to excess of horror and cruelty, rather than of beauty and happiness, for it is one of the commonest subjects in medieval art.

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THE HARROWING OF HELL
By Simone Martini. Cappella degli Spagnoli, S. Maria Novella, Florence

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The commonest form of depicting Hell was the mouth of a huge monster emitting flames. Bound and helpless souls are cast into it by demons, and are shown chained in it. Another form was that of a cauldron, or a lake of fire, with terrible demons in it. In a thirteenth-century manuscript (Add. 17,868, British Museum) the ideas are combined, and a cauldron filled with souls is held in the mouth of a monster, while devils blow the flames.

The symbolical representation of *Death* does not occur in very early Christian art. In the catacombs, though death is everywhere present in the bodies of the dead, he is treated only as a fallen and vanquished enemy, who is absolutely disregarded in the glorious triumph of the Conqueror. Death is emphatically swallowed up in victory, and there is not the least desire to portray the fallen.

The pagan idea of death as a youth with an inverted torch, or a pursuing harpy, or as an animated skeleton, must have been familiar to Christians. There is an intaglio of Death as a skeleton dragging a piping shepherd, supposed to be of the time of the Emperor Hadrian, which shows the prevalence of one of these symbols (supposed to be the Etruscan idea of death), but nowhere do we find this in early Christian art.

There is a certain natural fitness in representing Death as a skeleton; it was the old way of representing the bad man's ghost, or Larva. It is a curious thing that it was only when Christians were allowed to live that they thought of de-

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picting Death and making a personality out of a negation. Death is the consequence of the infraction of the Divine law, and strictly speaking is a disintegration and dissolution, not an abstract entity, and it is only when the ignorant and literal ideas of semi-civilized peoples were brought into prominence with the fall of the Roman Empire, that Death becomes a Personality.

There is an eleventh-century Missal of Worms (Bibl. de l'Arsénal, Theol. Lat. 192) which represents Death as a demon bound in chains. There seems a tendency to confuse Death and the Devil at first, but the skeleton figure of Death eclipsed all others in popular art, until we find in the early Renaissance a reversion to the old Greek idea of the Keres, or female furies, in in Orcagna's magnificent sweeping Fury, wild-haired, bat-winged and claw-footed, who sweeps through the air with her remorseless scythe. Petrarch also makes Death a woman, a fearful, bat-like and hateful creature.

In the legendary history of St. Bartholomew, the demon speaks of Jesus who has made Death who is our queen, a prisoner. Mors was queen of Hell, the spouse of Satan its king.

Crescenzio painted on the wall of the courtyard of the Hospital at Palermo Death as a rider, issuing from the mouth of Hell. The Apocalyptic conception of Death seated on a pale horse and slaying as he rode, was common for some centuries. Bearing a spear in one hand and a coffin under his arm, he springs forward in triumph over a group of prelates and laymen, or amidst

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THE TRIUMPH OF DEATH

From a fresco by Orcagna in the Campo Santo at Pisa

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prostrate women and dancing girls, or youths and maidens seated by a fountain. This dance, or Triumph of Death, became a favourite subject for a series of pictures showing the ordinary life and occupation of the time, and seems to grow in popularity down to the time of Holbein and the sixteenth century, until it falls from a great and solemn poem of life and death to a ribald jeer and mockery, and Death is merely a figure of fun who jokes with a fool.

What may be called a précis of the same subject far more worthily treated is on the walls of the Campo Santo at Pisa, and is known as the Story of the three Dead and the three Living. There is a fine MS. with the same subject in the Bibl. de l'Arsenal (No. 175, Fonds Français) of the early fourteenth century. Three youths of great beauty, but full of pride, are encountered by three corpses in horrible corruption, who warn them to behold in their condition a mirror of their own future state. Orcagna's magnificent treatment of this theme is full of dignity.

Allied to this "morality" was the pageant of the Chariot of Death, wherein Death sits alone, in skeleton form, with a scythe in his hand. This skeleton form has eclipsed all others in representing Death as a person, and the scythe is his commonest attribute, though occasionally he bears the trident, the sickle, the spear, and a bow and arrows.

There is a powerful Eastern conception of Death in the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos, where Death is a skeleton covered with a bright black

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skin with a sickle in his right hand and a scythe in the left, with which he mows down men; the inscription reads: "Fear the grave, Death comes near. Behold Charon." Charon in modern Greek folk-lore is not the ferryman, but the guide of souls, taking the place of Hermes, which, though altered, is a curious instance of the late survival in the East of pagan ideas.

The living skeleton, crowned or otherwise, has disintegrated on modern tombs into a skull and crossbones, and with the revival of Greek literature certain Greek symbols of death, such as the inverted torch, a broken urn, a withered wreath, have come to be used on nominally Christian tombs instead of emblems of Christianity.

The Breton and Cornish personification of *Ankou*, Death, takes the form of a skeleton, but is a weirdly majestic figure.

Representations of *Purgatory* are generally of late date, and depict figures in the midst of flames, often behind bars. Though the authorized definitions only say that Purgatory is a state in which souls suffer for a time on account of their sins, and can be helped by prayers and Masses, the popular conception of it, influenced no doubt by 1 Cor. iii. 13–15, has usually made fire its symbol. Even as early as the visions of St. Perpetua (early third century), the characteristic emblem of Purgatory is thirst.

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CHAPTER V

THE SAINTS

THE AUREOLE and the NIMBUS. The aureole and the nimbus differ in that the nimbus encircles the head, while the aureole encircles the whole body. The idea of both is that of a luminous cloud. The nimbus is not Christian in its origin, for it is found in Buddhist sculptures of early date, and was used by the pagan Romans for gods and emperors as a mark of dignity. The idea of light emanating from the Deity is common to all religions. Drawing an instance from each end of the Bible, we may remember how the face of Moses shone when he came down from the Mount, and how in the Vision of St. John at Patmos light is the characteristic of the Divine Figure. The nimbus does not appear in the very earliest Christian art, but we find it in gilded glass of the fourth century, and in the fifth it becomes fairly common, and it gradually became a token of sanctity, though its original idea of mere dignity is shown in cases where it is given even to Satan. The cruciform, or more properly cruciferous, nimbus, is applied to Christ. Its use is very early and is traceable back to the fourth century at least, as is shown by a sarco-

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phagus at Berlin, and the well-known pottery bowl in the British Museum of the time of Constantine. It is applied also to the Lamb as the emblem of Christ. Though no doubt luminosity is its origin, the nimbus for a long period was almost invariably a circle or a circular plate of gold or colour forming a background to the head, with occasionally rays projecting beyond the circle. Sometimes the circle disappeared and the rays assumed the form of a cross. Occasionally a triangular nimbus was used in representations of the Almighty, and a square nimbus is, on doubtful authority, supposed to indicate a picture painted in the lifetime of the person represented. After the twelfth century the nimbus degenerated into almost an ornamental head-dress, with scalloped edges and elaborated patterns, and sometimes it was studded with jewels. This conventional treatment continues to the present day in the Eastern Church. After the thirteenth century the nimbus is often represented by a golden or luminous line round the head, sometimes set slantingly in perspective, and with the Renaissance the original idea of the really luminous nimbus comes in again.

With the aureole the idea of a luminous cloud was never quite lost. Properly speaking it is used only for Divine Persons, and the Blessed Virgin, who contained in her body the "Light of the World," though sometimes it is used to express the spiritual state of the soul released from the body, as in the case of the ascent of

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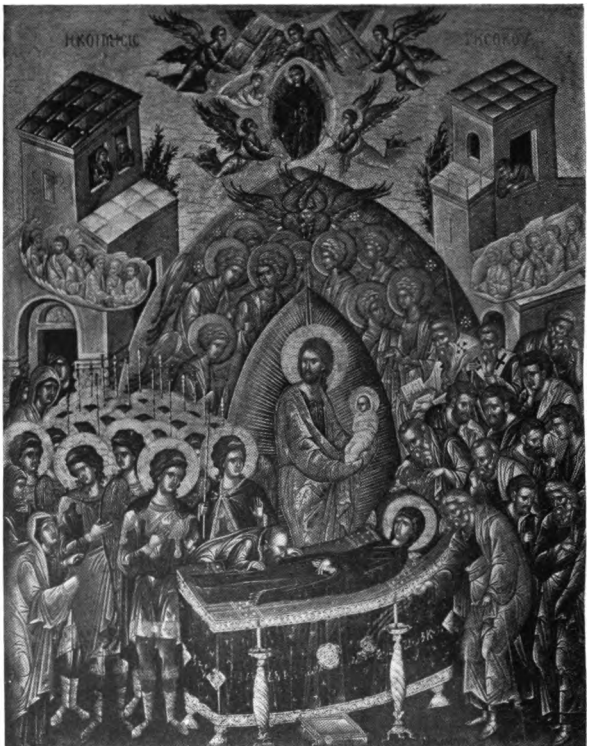

THE AUREOLE AND NIMBUS

Shown in a painting of the Death and Assumption of Our Lady, by Andrea Rizzo in the Pinacoteca, Turin

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the soul of St. Martin in a thirteenth-century window in Chartres Cathedral.

Usually this light is contained in a vesica shape, but sometimes the rays spread into flowers, and undulations of light. There is a tenth-century instance of Christ in an aureole of clouds which spread in ever widening layers which roughly follow the outline of His shape. Sometimes within the vesica is pure light which breaks into edges of flame. Materialistic minds converted the spiritual idea of a luminous haze into hard matter, surrounded it with a frame and had it bodily lifted and carried like a picture by angels, and in this state it remains in the East to the present day. There is a curious instance in a convent at Salamis, where Christ is seated in an aureole of two squares enclosed in a circle.

With the exception of representations of Christ in Glory, the commonest use of the aureole is in the pictures of the Immaculate Conception and of the Virgin and Child. A curious and very antique use of the aureole is to represent Christ as an infant enclosed in an aureole in the body of the Blessed Virgin. I do not know of any modern instances of this.

In MSS. the aureole in the Middle Ages was frequently conventionalized into a many branched tree. There is an instance in a thirteenth-century psalter of St. Louis, where Christ sits on a throne in an ellipse of light which breaks into circles in which seven doves symbolize the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.

The colours used in both the nimbus and the

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aureole are symbolical. Gold always represents light; silver is sometimes used for inferior personages, and occasionally red and green circles are used for the nimbus of saints. In a few instances Judas is shown with a black nimbus.

The delicate gradations of light can only be expressed by painting, and the exquisite and delicate tones of the light which emanates from Christ in His Transfiguration, by Fra Angelico, is to my thinking the highest point artists have reached in depicting the Divine Light.

The symbolism applied to the saints is of various natures, for the theory of saints and of their place in Christianity has many different aspects. Originally the word was used in its Greek form, ἅγιοι, to denote all who had taken upon themselves the obligations of the Christian life, and this is the sense in which St. Paul constantly uses it. The root is the same (with the common difference of the rough breathing, or *h* instead of *s*) as that of the Latin *sacer*, and both originally meant devoted or dedicated to the gods. Later, as in the Apocalypse, the word is commonly though not exclusively applied to the holy ones in Heaven; but the more general application continued long after Bible times, though constantly becoming more restricted in meaning. In the Celtic Church *Sanctus*, Welsh *Sant*, Cornish *Sans*, Gaelic *Naomh* at one time meant only what we should now call a "religious," a monk or a nun. When we read that Brychan the King had fifty children, all of them "saints," we need only understand that this pious monarch had a household of fifty monks

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and nuns, and some of the comic, not to say scandalous, stories told of Celtic saints should be compared, not with what we now mean by Lives of Saints, but with the ribald satires on the religious orders current in the Middle Ages. At a very early date it was the custom in the Church to commemorate in the Mass by name a number of the faithful departed. Of these some were general, such as Our Lady, St. John Baptist, the Apostles, and a few more whose fame was in all the churches. Others were local, though often it would happen that the Church in some locality would send notice to other places that a name had been inserted in its "diptychs," as they were called, and suggest that others should insert it also. The reading of these names formed part of the Great Intercession for the Living and the Dead, a very important part of the Mass. And this mention of names is used at the present day. In the Roman Rite there are thirty names, of which most, except Our Lady and the Apostles, are those of saints belonging to Rome, South Italy, and Africa. There is a long list of a hundred and thirty in the ninth-century Irish Stowe Missal, and a large proportion of these are Irish saints, just as a large proportion of the seventy names in the present Mozarabic Missal are Spanish. In the Eastern liturgies names of saints, except those of Our Lady and St. John Baptist, are seldom mentioned individually, and commemoration is made by classes. The original idea of these commemorations was prayer and offering *for* the saints, and this form is still

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definitely retained in the Eastern liturgies and the Mozarabic. But in the Roman Canon, which, at any rate in the form which survives at Milan, probably goes back at least to the late fourth century, there is no such notion. There is prayer for the living and for those "who have gone before us in the sign of faith and sleep in the sleep of peace," but of the saints it is *memoriam venerantes*, and a prayer that we sinners may be admitted to their society. Yet in every case, Eastern or Western, the underlying principle is the essential unity of the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant. And with this thought in the mind of the Church it was as natural for Christians to venerate the memory of the heroes of their faith as for Royalists to be enthusiastic about Montrose and Claverhouse, or the other side to venerate the memory of Hampden and Cromwell, or whoever it is they venerate. But there was more than this. The saints are the especial friends of God, admitted to His very presence in Paradise, and therefore it is natural, in view of this and of the unity of the Church above and on earth, to ask them to intercede for us and help us, just as we might ask our friends on earth to do, only with more effect. It was natural also to keep the anniversaries of saints, to dedicate churches to God under their patronage, to treasure relics of their bodies or of their garments, and to value places associated with them, and most of all to require pictures or statues of them. All this began at a very early date. It is not quite clear when churches began

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to be called after saints, but except for those named after Our Lady, St. John Baptist, and perhaps St. Michael, which began very early, there was perhaps an intermediate stage when they were named as the actual burial-place of the name-saint or, as is so usual in Wales and Cornwall, they were called after persons, saints in the early Celtic sense, who were actually associated with them in life. "Whitfield's Tabernacle" in Tottenham Court Road is a modern instance of this principle, just as "Wesley Rock" in the middle of the Methodist Chapel at Hea Moor, above Penzance, is an instance of the inevitability of relics. Perhaps one of the earliest cases of the later form of dedication is that by St. Ninian of the church of Whithern in the name of St. Martin, of whose death in 397 he heard just as he was finishing the building. The keeping of the anniversaries of saints, and presumably the liturgical commemoration of them on those days, began as early as the second century, for it is recorded that the day of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, which happened in 155, was at once appointed to be kept by the Church of Smyrna; but beyond this isolated instance, which certainly admits the principle, there is very little evidence until the usual fourth century, by which time it had become fairly common. When this custom was fully established, the appointing of a day and an office and the insertion of the name in the Martyrology and Calendar were added to or took the place of insertion in the diptychs. This "canonization" was at first local, and the

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declaration of saintship, or the official recognition of popular acclamation, was part of the *jus liturgicum* of every Bishop. Later it became rather provincial than diocesan, and at last patriarchal, in whch stage it possibly now is, for the Pope is perhaps acting as Patriarch of the West, not as ruler of Christendom, when, as has been the case since the thirteenth century, he reserves canonizations to himself. The Eastern Patriarchs still claim the right, and exercise it, though very sparingly; and there has been one case, afterwards revoked, of a genuine canonization in the reformed Church of England.

Pictures of saints began very early. There are gilt-glass pictures of SS. Peter and Paul which must be nearly as old as the first century, but the form of these as well as of the early pictures of Christ is rather that of portraits than symbolisms. Later on, when art became at once ruder and more conventional, the practice arose of making fancy pictures, no longer portraits, in which a saint was recognizable only by some emblem, usually called now an "attribute." In the St. Cuthbert Gospels in the British Museum there are instances of a necessary step still further, for though St. Mark has his lion and St. John his eagle, the artist thought it well (and indeed he was right) to explain what the emblems were meant for, and so wrote "imago leonis" and "imago aquilae" over against them.

The use of pictures and images for purposes of devotion and of a veneration paid to them which, for want of a less ambiguous English

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word, is often called "worship" is later in the West than in the East. The Iconoclast controversy in the East, which lasted during the greater part of the eighth century, ended for a time in the decrees of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, though there was a short recrudescence of Iconoclasm in the ninth century. But the decrees of Nicaea, which allowed the use and veneration of eikons, pictures but not statuary, though ratified by the Pope, were not at once generally accepted in the West, and the influence of Charlemagne especially was directed rather against this usage. But pictures and statues as mere representations were common enough, and the idea of secondary veneration for them grew there also, though it never went to the extremes to which it is still carried in the East. In spite, however, of occasional popular superstitious uses, the distinction between the worship due to God alone and the reflected respect paid to pictorial representation is and has always been perfectly understood by both Churches, though in the Eastern Church there is in this, as in all other matters, a tendency to less exact definition.

The earliest use of these representations was either portraiture or the showing forth of an historical event, frequently also with a symbolical or didactic meaning attached. But there was a stage in which the saints or their emblems appeared as types and symbols. The description of Our Lady in the Apocalypse (Rev. xii. 1) is a case of this. The "great wonder in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun and the moon

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under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" is primarily the Blessed Virgin, but she is also Our Lady as a type of the Church. This was also the meaning of the instances in the catacombs where she appears as the *Orans*, a majestic veiled figure with extended arms, that attitude of prayer still used in the Mass of the Roman rite, and here she is also the great Intercessor (not Mediator) with God. In her Coronation in Heaven she is the type of the Church Triumphant. When after the condemnation of the doctrines of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in 431, the title of Θεοτόκος, *Deipara*, *Dei Genitrix*, was recognized by the Church, pictures representing the Blessed Virgin sitting enthroned with her Divine Child in her arms became common. They were not unknown before that. There is a painting of the Virgin and Child in the catacomb of St. Priscilla which may be of the early second century, but the pictures of the Madonna, enthroned as Queen of Heaven and Mother of God, are testimonies to the faith of the Church in the Divinity of Christ. These pictures were capable of endless variety by the introduction of the secondary symbols. As Queen she may be accompanied by her court of saints and angels, and may have with her attributes to show her qualities. The Crescent Moon, which is also an ancient emblem of chastity, shows that her light is borrowed from the Sun of Righteousness, whom she bore in her bosom. The Globe beneath her feet is an emblem of her deputed sovereignty over the world, and a Serpent round it alludes to

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OUR LADY AS THE GREAT INTERCESSOR
From a mosaic in the Archiepiscopal Palace, Ravenna

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Genesis iii. 15, which in the Vulgate reads "*Ipsa* conteret caput tuum." Many emblems arose from the mystical application of passages of Scripture, especially of those in the Song of Solomon. She is the *Enclosed Garden*, the *Fountain Sealed*, the *Rose of Sharon*, the *Lily of the Valley*, the *Cedar of Lebanon*, the *Tower of David*, the *Ark of the Covenant*, the *Morning Star*. The Star is especially her emblem from an incorrect but very early interpretation of her name. Flowers are associated with her, but chiefly the Rose, the Queen of flowers, and the Lily of purity. The Apple is hers as the Second Eve, who reversed the curse of the First Eve as the Angel's *Ave* reversed her name.

Sumens illud Ave
Gabrielis ore
Funda nos in pace,
Mutans Evae nomen,

and the Olive denotes that same "funda nos in pace." The Pomegranate with its crowned top is hers as Queen, and typifies also hope and fruitfulness, the "Virginitas fecunda" of the collect for the octave of Christmas.

The Unicorn is an emblem of her purity; seven Doves of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost which came upon her. Women of the Old Testament are introduced as types—Eve, Rachel, the type of contemplative life; Ruth, her great ancestress; Judith and Esther, who delivered their country; and many others; and Prophets appear who foretold her and her Son. Mystical attributive pictures are almost innumerable; Our Lady

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of Wisdom, *Sedes Sapientiae*, with a Book, of Grace, of Succour, of Consolation, of Pity, of Hope, of Victory, and many more, a subject more fully treated in "Our Lady in Art" in this series. Events of her life are treated both historically and symbolically. The description in Revelation xii. 1 is taken as emblematic of her Immaculate Conception in pictures by Murillo and others. The Annunciation denotes the Incarnation; the Visitation, her humility; the Visit of the Magi, the homage of the Gentiles; her Coronation, the triumph of the Church; and those frequently-found scenes, the Pieta, where she is shown with the dead Christ, or the *Mater Dolorosa*, where she is represented sorrowing for Him and sometimes with a literal sword or seven swords piercing her breast, denote also the lamentations of Earth for her Lord.

The four Evangelists occupy the next place in symbolism. Their conventional emblem, a winged Man for St. Matthew, a winged Lion for St. Mark, a winged Calf for St. Luke, and an Eagle for St. John, are taken from the description of an early Eucharistic service, mystically transferred to Heaven, in the Apocalypse (Rev. iv.; v.) The Four Beasts (*τέσσαρα ζῶα*, four living Creatures, *animalia*) were suggested to the author of the Apocalypse by the Vision of Ezekiel (Ez. i. 10), to whom they were possibly suggested by sculptures similar to those from Nineveh, which occupy so conspicuous a place at the entrance to the great gallery of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum. The order in Ezekiel is the

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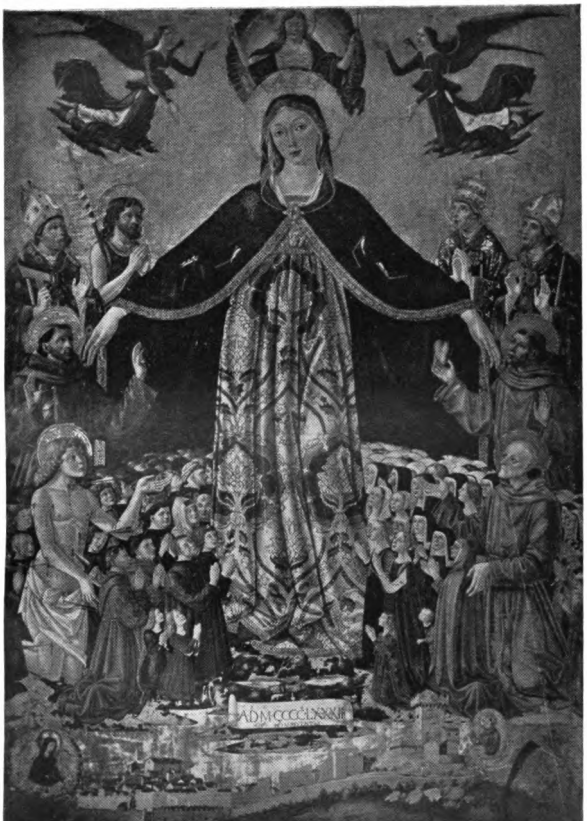

OUR LADY OF SUCCOUR

From a painting by Sinibraldo Ibi in the church of St. Francis at Montone

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same as the present order of the Gospels. St. Irenaeus (d. 202) says, following the order of the Apocalypse, that the Lion signifies the royal character of Christ, the Calf His sacerdotal office, the Man His incarnation, and the Eagle the grace of the Holy Spirit, and he attributes to St. Matthew the Man, to St. Mark the Eagle, to St. Luke the Calf, and to St. John the Lion. Juvencus does the same. St. Athanasius gives the Man to St. Matthew, the Calf to St. Mark, the Lion to St. Luke, and the Eagle to St. John. St. Augustine, and St. Bede, who copies him, give the Lion to St. Matthew, the Man to St. Mark, the Calf to St. Luke, and the Eagle to St. John. But the symbols eventually settled down into their present arrangement. A hymn attributed (but wrongly, for it has metrical faults of which he was incapable) to Adam of St. Victor, says :

Quatuor describunt isti
Quadriformes actus Christi,
Et figurant, ut audisti,
Quisque sua formula.
Natus *Homo* declaratur,
Vitulus sacrificatur,
Leo mortem depraedatur,
Et ascendit *Aquila*,

and the general idea has been to attribute to each of the four Gospels an emphasis on some aspect of the Life and Personality of Christ which corresponds, perhaps rather fancifully, with its symbol.

At first the symbols of the Evangelists generally occur alone, without any human figure,

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though there is one instance in St. John Lateran of the fifth century where the Evangelists themselves are represented with their symbols above them. The symbols are found as early as the fourth century, but do not become general until the fifth or sixth. Then they become universal. Later, in the eighth and ninth centuries, pictures became common, especially in Books of the Gospels, which represent the Evangelists writing their Gospels and accompanied by their emblems. Both forms have continued ever since. The emblems alone are found in all ages at the corners of all manner of four-square objects, book-bindings, especially of Gospel-books, windows, walls, altar-cloths, everywhere where four emblems are wanted. The painters of the Evangelists, as art developed, made first a decorative and then a pictorial use, sometimes rather absurd, of the emblems, until in the late Middle Ages one finds St. Mark's Lion made to sit up and "beg" before his master, while he holds an inkhorn in his paw, and St. John's Eagle on a perch holding the inkhorn in his beak; but in the earlier times the four "Beasts" were symbols and nothing else but symbols, stately, stiff, and conventional.

But these were not the only emblems of the Evangelists. The four scrolls or books in the catacomb paintings are not emblems so much as pictures of the books themselves, but a very favourite device, which continued from the fourth to the seventh century, and perhaps longer, represented Christ as the Lamb standing on the Mount of God, from which flow the four

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ILLUSTRATION OF REV. V, VI AND X
UPPER HALF: LAMB AND LION AS EMBLEMS OF CHRIST (REV. V, 5, 6, VI), WITH THE FOUR EVANGELISTS. LOWER HALF: THE CONSUMMATION OF THE MYSTERY OF GOD (REV. X, 7) AT THE TRUMPET OF THE SEVENTH ANGEL IN THE UNVEILING OF THE DIVINE FACE. THE EMBLEM OF ST. MATTHEW APPEARS ALSO AS THE SEVENTH ANGEL

From a ninth century Bible (Add. MS. 10546) in the British Museum

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rivers of Paradise, which evidently are taken as types of the Evangelists, or rather of their Gospels.

The Evangelists are the only individual saints who are generally represented symbolically, as inferring more than their mere personality; but locally in Rome and in the Churches which derived their origin directly from Rome, the two founder saints of the church of that city, SS. Peter and Paul, hold a place quite equal to them. St. Peter as Prince of the Apostles might be expected to represent in artistic symbolism the authority of the living Church, just as the Evangelists represent the written Word, but this is seldom the case, and in spite of the undoubted fact that the Bishops of Rome are the successors of the Prince of the Apostles, early art looks upon them as successors also of the Apostles of the Gentiles, and treats the two Apostles as co-founders of the Holy See. And in this art follows, if indeed it did not precede, the very distinct statement of St. Clement of Rome. The early representations of these Apostles are no doubt portraits, for the same type persists throughout, even down to the leaden Papal *bullae* (seals) of the present day, on which the two Apostles still appear. St. Peter, in the pictures in which attributes are introduced, bears two keys (in allusion to St. Matthew xvi. 19). Milton says:

> Last came and last did go
> The pilot of the Galilean lake;
> Two massy keys he bore of metal twain,
> The golden opes, the iron shuts amain,

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though usually one key is golden and the other not iron but silver.

One of the earliest instances of St. Peter with the keys is the well-known statue in the Vatican Basilica. This is probably of the sixth century, if not older. It is a common gibe of Protestants that it was originally a pagan image, and that keys were substituted for a thunderbolt. These critics amusè themselves with bad jokes about Jupiter and Jew-Peter, but do not trouble to examine the statue, or they would see that the keys are all of one casting with the rest. Besides, paganism was over and done before that image was made. It was brought to the Basilica by Paul V (1605–21), from the monastery of St. Martino at Monti. St. Peter in later art often wears the Papal Tiara and other vestments. St. Paul carries a sword as emblem of his martyrdom. The keys and the sword, singly or together, are commonly used as emblems of the Apostles, especially heraldically, as in the arms of dioceses or churches dedicated in the names of these saints. The crossed swords in the arms of the diocese of London, the sword in the corner of those of the City, and the crossed key and sword of the diocese of York are cases of this, and so are the crossed keys of the Papal arms.

One more saint stands apart from the rest in both Eastern and Western Christendom, St. John the Baptist, the Fore-runner (*πρόδρομος*) of Christ. In his honour is dedicated "Omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum Mater et Caput," the Cathedral of Rome, St. John Lateran, and next to Our Lady

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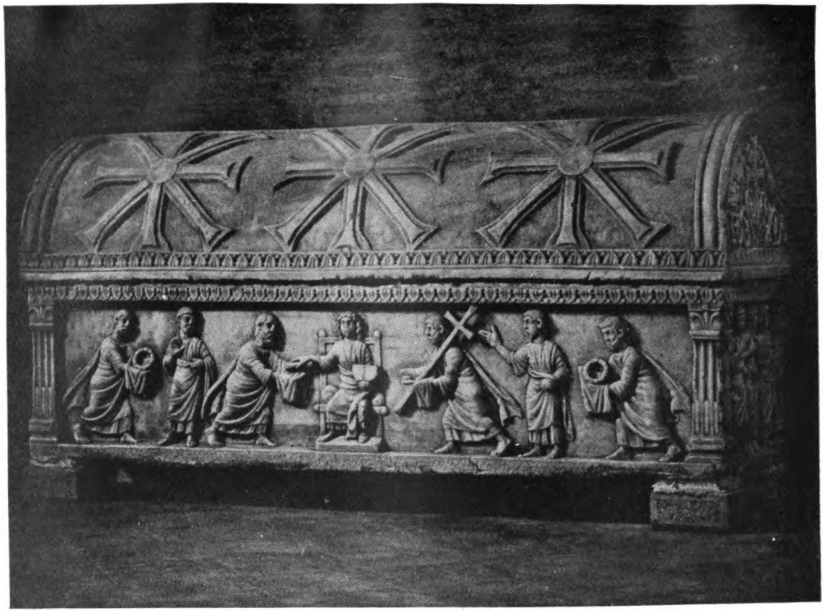

CHRIST ENTHRONED BETWEEN SS. PETER AND PAUL AND OTHER SAINTS

Fifth century sarcophagus in S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna

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and SS. Peter and Paul, his is the commonest patronage. He is represented with the Lamb, and is dressed, as he is described in the Gospels, in a "raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle about his loins." He often carries a long cross with a streamer flowing from it. He is the only one, except our Lord and His Mother, whose natural birthday is kept by the Church. The manner of his death was the cause of a not very intelligible piece of symbolism. In the York Breviary the fourth lesson for the Decollation of St. John has these words: "Caput Johannis in Disco signat Corpus Christi quo pascimur in sancti altari et quod ecclesiae gentium tribuitur in salutem ac remedium animarum." This seems the only explanation, if it can be called one, of the alabaster tablets representing St. John Baptist's head in a charger used in connection with the Corpus Christi Guild at York and perhaps elsewhere. Many of these, and they are very common objects, have figures of St. Peter, the patron of York, on them also. Many of them have figures of Christ standing in the tomb, and some have other saints also. Mr. W. St. John Hope has an interesting paper on the subject (*Archæologia*, Vol. liii. 669) in which he describes twenty-seven of these objects from various museums and collections. The arms of Penzance (whose name may mean the "Holy Head" or the "Head of a Saint," though it may also mean the "End of the Bay") are St. John Baptist's Head in a Charger, and it is noteworthy that the Corpus Christi Fair is the great day there. Yet the association of St. John's Head

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with the Blessed Sacrament is only found, according to Mr. Hope, in the York Breviary.

As for the rest of the Apostles, they are treated in art in the same manner as saints of a lower degree, and are identified by their attributes, which are usually, though not always, the instruments of their martyrdoms.

The classification of saints adopted in the *Commune Sanctorum* of the Roman Missal and Breviary presents a convenient arrangement for artistic purposes. It is as follows :

1. *Apostles.* These are the Twelve, with St. Paul and St. Barnabas added. Of these, as attributes of martyrdom, St. Andrew has his cross ; St. James the Less, a fuller's club ; St. Thomas, St. Matthias and St. Jude, a lance ; St. Simon, a saw ; St. Bartholomew, a knife ; St. Matthew, St. James the Great and St. Paul, a sword ; St. Philip, a cross ; and St. Peter, an inverted cross. St. John, not having been a martyr, has no attribute of that sort, though the incident of his attempted martyrdom in the cauldron of boiling oil at the Latin gate of Rome is very commonly depicted. But many of the Apostles have attributes of other sorts, which are more common than martyr emblems. St. James the Great has the pilgrim's hat, staff and shell, as patron of the great pilgrimage place, Compostella ; St. Thomas and St. Philip, a builder's square ; St. Matthew the Publican, a purse, and of course his Evangelistic emblem, though this is seldom found when he appears as an Apostle ; St. Barnabas, a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel,

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said to have been found with his body; St. Peter, the keys; and St. John, besides his eagle which, like St. Matthew's winged man, does not belong to his apostolic character, carries a cup with a serpent issuing from it, in allusion to a legend of an attempt to poison him. When the Twelve Apostles are represented together they are sometimes given scrolls inscribed with the articles of the Apostles' Creed attributed to each, though probably this Creed, which is unknown to the East, is really only the Baptismal Confession of faith of the local Roman Church. One Apostle who was not a saint comes at times into art. The traitor, Judas Iscariot, is represented with red hair and beard and an exaggeratedly malicious Jewish type of face, and he wears yellow garments and sometimes carries a purse. Needless to say he only appears in historical scenes, or with Arius, "the first fighter against God" (ὁ πρώτος θεόμαχος, as the Synodikon of "Orthodoxy Sunday" calls him), who died a similar death, as a type of the lost.

2. *Martyr Bishops.* These appear in art in often quite anachronistic episcopal vestments, usually accompanied by the instruments of their martyrdom; but except for their episcopal character, which is generally emphasized, they are not treated differently from other martyrs.

3. *Martyrs not Bishops.* These are "a great multitude whom no man could number, of all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues," from St. Stephen, the first martyr, or even earlier, from those Innocents who died unwitting of their

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honour, and the Martyrs of the Ten Great Persecutions of the early Church down to the present day. Martyrdom is usually defined as death for the true Faith or for any article thereof, or being killed *in odio fidei*. It is a wide definition enough, but it is hard to see how the purely political assassinations of St. Kenelm and St. Edward the Martyr could have been martyrdoms, and yet they were counted as such in the pre-Reformation Church in England, and this St. Edward, as well as the Confessor, is in the Anglican Calendar still. There is indeed a wider definition which has often influenced the attribution of the title. Lanfranc doubted whether Alphege, who was killed by the Danes for refusing to deliver up the goods of the church, was a martyr, as he had not died for the Faith. "He who dies for righteousness dies for the Faith," answered St. Anselm, and so the matter was settled. Long afterwards Pope Benedict XIV, in his great work on Canonization, said: "Martyrium est voluntaria mortis perpessio sive tolerantia propter Fidem Christi vel alium virtutis actum in Deum relatum" (Lib. iii. c. 2), and he admits the possibility of martyrdom to those who are *invincibiliter et materialiter* heretics if they die *pro vero Fidei articulo*. Thus St. John Nepemuc, who died rather than reveal a confession, and St. Winifred, who died in defence of her chastity, were real martyrs, though no article of faith came into their martyrdom; and we would fain hope that the Pope's charitable definitions may probably include King Charles and William Laud, who died for several true articles of the

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ST. JOHN BAPTIST, WITH SS. FRANCIS, LAWRENCE, COSMAS, DAMIAN, ANTONY THE HERMIT, AND PETER THE MARTYR

From a painting by Filippo Lippi in the National Gallery

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Faith, and were certainly killed in hatred of a considerable part of it. Still less can we doubt that the unnumbered host of those of the separated Eastern Churches, who died and who still die rather than renounce Christ in the dark days of Mohammedan persecution, are now with the *Martyrum candidatus exercitus.* Any painting or statue of a martyr is a symbol of Christian heroism in its highest form. "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," was the promise to the Church of Smyrna, and so the Crown is a general emblem of martyrs, as well as the Palm of triumph. But it has become an accepted custom, when the manner of martyrdom is known, and especially when there is no other incident in the martyr's life of any great importance, to introduce the instrument of martyrdom. As many martyrs died similar deaths, this form of attribute is not always very distinguishing, so that other signs are often added. Thus St. Sebastian and St. Edmund of East Anglia were both bound to trees and shot to death with arrows, but as St. Edmund was a king he is distinguished by a royal crown. St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Peter the Martyr were both killed by sword wounds in the head, and so both are often represented with swords cleaving their heads. But the one wears the vestments of an archbishop and the other the Dominican habit. The martyrs of the religious orders, and they are many, would naturally be distinguished by their costume, and so would martyrs who were of the clergy, or were kings, warriors and others. The three

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deacon martyrs—St. Stephen, St. Lawrence, and St. Vincent—all wear the dalmatic, and so does St. Leonard, who was not a martyr; but St. Stephen carries a stone, St. Lawrence a gridiron, St. Vincent a fork or a raven, or sometimes only a palm, for it would be impossible to get in all the instruments of his very extended martyrdom, and St. Leonard carries fetters. The warrior martyrs, except St. Sebastian, who is generally unclothed, wear armour; the kings are crowned, and the same obvious methods of differentiation are applied to other ranks and professions. But the list of attributes of martyrs would require a dictionary to itself; suffice it to say that these are their rather obvious general principles.

4. *Confessors who were Bishops*, whom it is not necessary to distinguish from Confessors who were not Bishops, seeing that in art it is only their costume that differentiates them. A Confessor originally meant one who had in times of persecution refused to deny Christ, but had escaped actual death for the Faith. Later it came to mean anyone who, though his death was a natural one, had confessed Christ by a life of special holiness and heroic virtue. In comparatively modern times, since the formalities of canonization have become fixed, it has been obligatory to inquire minutely into the details of the person's life, and to require evidence of miracles, either by the man himself during life, or by his relics after death, neither of which are required in the case of martyrs, where the circumstances of death are all that matter.

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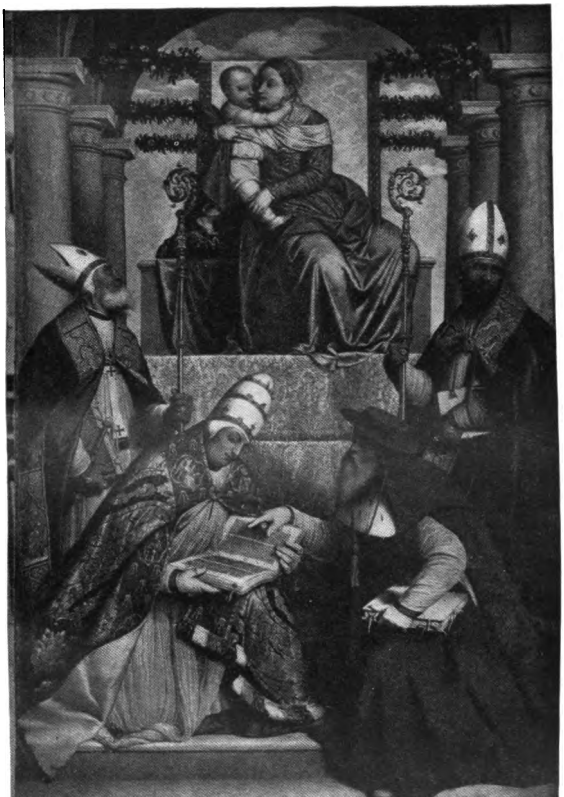

VIRGIN AND CHILD, WITH THE FOUR WESTERN DOCTORS,
SS. AMBROSE, AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, GREGORY THE GREAT AND JEROME
From a painting by Il Moretto da Brescia in the Staedel Institute at Frankfort

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The attributes of confessors, besides the costume of their orders, ranks or professions, are more varied even than those of martyrs, for after all there is only a limited number of ways of killing; but they are often equally obvious, though many refer to obscure legends, to paranomasia on the saint's name, or to patronage of some place or calling.

5. *Doctors of the Church* are liturgically distinguished from Confessors, with whom they may also be included, for all Doctors are also Confessors. They are men whose superlative learning, which they used in the service of the Church, and whose life entitled them to canonization. There are very few of them, under twenty altogether, in the Roman Calendar. Eight of them stand out pre-eminently: SS. Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory the Great as the Four Doctors of the West; SS. Athanasius, Basil, John Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzen as the Four Doctors of the East. All the eight except St. Jerome were Bishops, and are so represented in art, generally in the vestments of their respective branches of the Church; though often in Eastern pictures St. Gregory of Rome, for example, may appear in the *sakkos* of an Eastern Bishop, or in a Western picture St. Basil of Caesarea may wear a Western mitre and chasuble. St. Jerome, having been a priest of a Roman parish, is commonly represented as a Cardinal, for Cardinal priests are really the parish priests of Rome. Other attributes, books in most cases, are added. St. Ambrose often carries a scourge, St. Augustine a flaming heart,

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St. Gregory has a Dove on his shoulder, and the later Doctors, who belonged in many cases to religious orders, wear the habits of those orders. Thus St. Thomas Aquinas appears as a Dominican, St. Bernard as a Cistercian, St. Bonaventure as a Franciscan.

6. *Abbots* form the next division, and these again are a subdivision of Confessors. As in the case of any members of religious orders they are represented in the habits thereof, but wear also the mitre and carry the crozier.

7. Women saints are classified as Virgin-Martyrs, Martyrs but not Virgins, Virgins not Martyrs, and "nec Virgines nec Martyres." These last are classified as Widows, and the others, who may be divided into married women who died before their husbands, and penitents. This subdivision of the last and lowest class is used to some extent as a description in Calendars, but there is only one "Common office." The attributes of holy women of all descriptions are arranged on principles similar to those of male saints.

In the Eastern Church there are twenty-six different classes of festivals and saints, but many of them are of little importance, being chiefly descriptive epithets, some of which are applied to only one person. Apostles include not only the Twelve, but also the Seventy, the Seven Deacons and several more. Some others are described as Ἰσαπόστολοι, equal to the Apostles. Martyrs are divided into Μεγαλομάρτυρες, Great Martyrs, of whom the best known is St. George ;

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Ἱερομάρτυρες, priest martyrs; Ὁσιομάρτυρες, monk or nun martyrs; and Μάρτυρες. Then there are Ἀνάργυροι, moneyless or unmercenary, who are physicians who healed for the love of God, like SS. Cosmas and Damian, and SS. Cyrus and John; Θαυματουργοί, miracle workers; and Θεοφόροι, those who bear God in their hearts. St. Simeon is Θεοδόχος, the God-receiver; St. James the Less, Ἀδελφόθεος, Brother of God; SS. Joachim and Anna, Θεοπάτορες, Ancestors of God. Ὅσιος and Ὁσία are the general epithets of saints who were monks and nuns, Ἅγιος and Ἁγία of those who were not. Δίκαιος, righteous, is applied to Old Testament saints. The system of attributes is less developed in Eastern art, though many saints are distinguished by costume. But it matters less than in Western art, for it is the almost invariable custom to write the name of the saint across the background of his picture, and the beforementioned epithets often differentiate saints of the same name. Russian eikons, of course, have the equivalent words in Palaeoslav or Church Slavonic, the archaic Slavonic which is the prayer language of Russia.

In both East and West the system of patron saints of countries, orders, families, ranks, professions, trades, and even of amusements is widely developed. It is too large a subject for detailed description here, but a knowledge of it will often supply an explanation why a particular saint, who would seem to be of no inherent importance, should be popular in art. The saint becomes a symbol of that of which he is patron, and often

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the emblem of that becomes an attribute of the saint. There is, for instance, no natural connection between roses and St. George, but the rose is the badge of England, so the Knights of St. George wear collars of roses.

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CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH

THE oldest Christian churches which remain are those vaulted crypts in the catacombs containing the tombs of martyrs, on which Mass was said during the first three centuries of Christianity. These chambers of death converted into altars for the Bread of Life have such obvious symbolism that it need not be dilated upon.

The first actual buildings erected for purposes of Christian worship were on the plan of Roman houses and public buildings. In some instances tradition records that the houses themselves were used, as in the case of S. Pudentiana in Rome, which was said to be the actual house in which St. Peter lived.

The word 'basilica,' originally kingly, lordly, was used to designate almost any sort of business room or hall, and did not denote any particular type of building, though eventually it became restricted to an oblong rectangular building divided into three or four aisles by rows of pillars, and having at the end a *tribuna* separated from the body of the hall by *cancelli* or rails.

By the time of Constantine this type was firmly established, and was further developed and ampli-

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fied into such a variety of designs that it is not possible even to enumerate in a short space more than the most usual characteristics. The general features were a narthex, or outer porch or square for the unbaptized; an oblong building divided by rows of columns into a nave and aisle; an enclosure, the *cancellus* at the end of the nave for the choir and priests; a chancel arch separating this part from a rounded apse, where the Bishop's throne was placed, and in front of this the altar. Over the altar to protect and dignify it was a ciborium of wood covered with gold and silver, or of stone. The ciborium presented by Constantine to the Lateran had a roof of silver weighing 2025 lbs., and images of Christ and the Apostles in silver on it.

The windows in the basilican churches were chiefly in long lines just under the roof and above the pillars which separated the nave from the aisles.

The orientation of churches has acquired a symbolical meaning, but this seems to be chiefly owing to Constantine, whose devotion to Sun worship seems never to have been wholly eradicated. It is far more universal in the East, in France and England, than elsewhere. In Italy it scarcely exists. Its meaning has been twisted into a symbolical reference to the origin of Christianity being in the East, but its connection with the rising of the sun cannot be ignored, though a Christian meaning of Christ as the Sun of Righteousness may be read into it. But in St. Peter's and in other basilican churches of Rome, the altar is at the west. It has been supposed that the

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actual orientation of a church corresponded with the place of the sunrise on the day of the saint in whose name it was dedicated, and some have professed to discover forgotten dedications thereby. There are certainly many cases in England where such conjectural dedications have afterwards proved to be correct, and very many where the known dedication does correspond with the orientation.

The Romans added to the Greek construction of temples one very important development, which has influenced church architecture in all succeeding ages, and that was the dome. Christianity adopted this Western development with great ardour; it gave an immense dignity to the inside of the churches, and possibly its use owed much to the natural sensation of uplifting which is produced by the gazing up into a great space, which even the most ignorant must feel. Certainly the dome became the characteristic feature of Christian architecture during the centuries after Constantine in the East, and in southern Europe.

In the North the spire may be said to take its place; it is in reality an elongated dome pushing up into greater heights; the symbolism of both is the same, reaching up and striving after heavenly things.

One or two ambones were placed by the chancel and were used for reading the gospel from, and for preaching. This is practically the origin of the great rood screens in Gothic churches, from which in olden times the Epistle and Gospel were read. In Milan Cathedral there is a large pulpit

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on the north side of the choir which is still used for this purpose. Many of the ambones still remain in the older Italian churches. In the Eastern church the Gospel is sometimes read from a fixed structure and sometimes from a movable lectern called the *Analogion.*

In pre-Christian buildings used for religious purposes it was sufficient to provide a small inner room for the statue and altar of the god, with a colonnade around for the worshippers. No services, in our ritual sense of the word, took place, and the temple was chiefly considered from its *outside* aspect.

In the earliest buildings known to have been purposely erected for Christian purposes, we can see how completely Christianity reversed this idea. The outsides of all early Christian basilicas are plain and unornamented, but within they are a blaze of the richest marbles, mosaics, and precious metals. There is said to be an interesting modern extension of this idea in the practice of the Irvingites, in whose churches the receptacle for the reserved Eucharistic elements is externally very plain and bare, but internally is decorated with gold and gems. As they are believers in the doctrine of the Real Presence, this idea is a beautiful one.

A grand symbolical scheme for the interior decoration of the church was common during the Middle Ages, and may still be seen in many an ancient church which has escaped destruction. It can be best studied in the mosaic-lined churches of Ravenna and in the Roman basilicas. The

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general scheme, which varied in details, was this. The subjects used for the decoration of the long walls of the nave under the clerestory windows were either symbolical scenes from the Old Testament, which referred to the Coming of Christ, as on the walls of S. Maria Maggiore, in Rome, or rows of men and women, saints and martyrs, coming in long procession to cast themselves at the feet of Christ, as in S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. These all lead up to the apsidal arch, on which are representations of the Divine Life of Christ on earth. Usually the central figure is that of the Blessed Virgin holding her Child, as on the arch of S. Apollinare Nuovo, or, as in S. Maria Maggiore, it is a complete and mystical rendering of the whole story of the Nativity. It is always to do with Christ, either in His Infancy, or in His Glory. On the apsidal arch of S. Lorenzo, Rome (fifth century), Christ is seated on the world, with St. Peter and St. Paul and four saints around Him.

Beyond the apsidal arch was usually a representation of Christ in Glory, with angels and saints adoring Him, and His faithful children as sheep in the pastures of the Blessed. The whole scheme of decoration led to this, that Christ is the ultimate End and Glory of all things.

Sometimes this idea is artlessly carried out by the pictures in the nave representing the common labours of humanity, sowing and reaping and building, but all are led to the mystery of the Redemption by the Incarnation, and the complete triumph of Christ in Heaven.

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At the west end of the church, the farthest from the altar, was the place for the great picture of the Doom, the final Judgment Day, to remind those who are leaving the church of the choice which is yet in their own hands of good and evil. Sometimes in old English churches this subject is found above the chancel arch.

All along the roof of the church, high up, it was common to portray the angels, those beings who, though so far above us, watch over us and help us, and high up above these mosaics was frequently a great cross blazing with gold and jewels, the symbol of redemption.

Such a scheme of decoration, which even little children and ignorant people could read, could not fail to have an influence on those who day by day had these sublime truths placed thus before their eyes. It was capable of infinite variety, and no two churches would have precisely the same treatment. This unity of idea has unfortunately not been preserved in modern church decorations.

The symbolism which has been applied, consciously or otherwise, to the material building, begins with the materials of which it is constructed. The stones or bricks, small and insignificant in themselves, yet joined together making up a stately fabric, symbolize the multitude of individuals who go to the building up of the heavenly Jerusalem, joined together by the cement of the lime of charity, moistened by the water of the Holy Spirit; which cement binds all the loose stones together into a firm wall.

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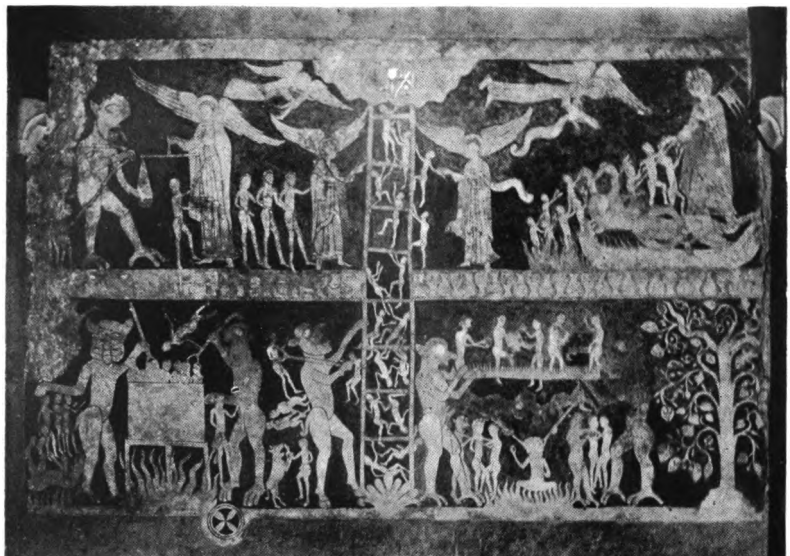

THE DOOM, WITH THE WEIGHING OF SOULS AND THE LADDER OF SOULS

From a wall painting in Chaldon Church, Surrey

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The stones of greater dignity, the corner stones and pillars and marbles, represent the saints hewn and polished and squared by the tribulation of this world and the shaping of the grace of God. The tiny worthless stones, and the grains of sand in the cement, represent the great majority of us who do no great things for God in this world, yet may happily add our minute help to the perfection of the heavenly Temple.

The length, breadth, and height of the walls represent courage, fortitude, and charity resting on the foundation of faith, which is conversant with and supports the unseen.

The door of the church is said by some to mean obedience, but a better interpretation seems to be that it symbolizes Christ, Who said, "I am the Door," and the immense labour and thought which have been expended on the great entrance doors of all the finest churches and cathedrals seem to carry out this idea. The whole of the west end of most French cathedrals seems a glorification of the door or doors. They are encased in great arches, which are alive with the sculptures of saints and angels, rising tier above tier, to where the figure of Christ sits enthroned on the apex. When the doors below are two, they may be said to show forth the two natures of Christ, and usually there is between them a statue of the Blessed Virgin holding her Child. When the openings are three in number they emphasize the mystery of the Trinity, from Whom Christ is inseparable.

There is a beautiful symbolism on the doors of

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many Norman and Early English churches, for the sides of the porches are frequently covered with scenes of martyrdom; and is it not written that "we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God"?

It is also not uncommon to find representations of the seasons and common daily labour on these great porches, which are sometimes entwined with true-love knots, showing the hallowing of our daily life by the holy sacrament of matrimony, but teaching that daily labours and cares must be left *outside* the door of God's House.

At Rheims and Amiens are two of the most beautiful symbolical doorways in existence. At Amiens, Christ stands between the portals with His Hand uplifted in blessing to all who enter, one of the most benign and beautiful effigies of Him in the world. At Rheims, He sits above His angels and saints bearing the souls of the Redeemed in His lap.

In the South and East the importance of the actual door is somewhat obscured by the large pillared porticoes which extend nearly the width of the church, but these porches, originally the narthex for penitents, have the same significance.

A very common adornment of a porch or doorway is a sculpture or mosaic of the Annunciation, representing Mary, through whose body Redemption entered into the world, Porta Caeli, the gate of Heaven, being one of her titles. Contrasted with this is frequently the fall of Adam and Eve, by whom sin came into the world.

The columns and piers of the church repre-

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sent the Apostles, Bishops, and Doctors of the Church, who by their doctrines upheld and sustain the building.

The beams which tie together the building are the preachers and princes who defend the church, and the vaulting and the adorned ceiling also represent the preachers who adorn and strengthen the fold of Christ.

The pavements show forth the foundation of our Faith, or, as some think, humility, which is trodden underfoot, while others see in the pavement the humility of the poor.

The octagonal shape so often used for fonts is symbolical of the completion of the whole of Creation, for the visible universe was made in seven days, the invisible kingdom of Grace being the period following upon that.

The roof represents charity, which covers a multitude of sins. The windows show forth the doctrines of the Church by which the light of the Sun enters into the otherwise dark building. Likewise at night, when the world is dark without, the light shines through the jewelled colours of the windows from the light within, to those in the outer darkness. Durandus says that the windows being wider without than within show the mystical sense to be wider and more ample than the material, and that also windows signify the senses of the body, which seems to be piling more symbolism on to this subject than it can conveniently carry.

Such a wholly different value is attached to windows in northern countries where light and

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sun are rarer and more valuable than in the South, that a whole book might be written on the divers meanings expressed, or appearing to be expressed, by the successive schools of architecture. Starting from the round-headed plain openings imitated from those of the East, and the long lancet slips of northern France and England, the designs blossomed into the fine shafts and exquisite tracing of the Decorated period. Then the stones spread themselves heavenwards with the exuberance of a growing tree, symbolical of that wealth of fervent piety and spiritual awakening of the thirteenth century. Later this stiffened and hardened into the prim rigidity of the Perpendicular of the fifteenth century whose depressed arches and elaborate monotony blazon forth its utter lack of true spirituality. In France at the same time the Flamboyant eloquently expresses to us its builder's meaningless and confused unintellectuality. Unconscious symbolism this, but it exists for all to read.

The towers represent the preachers and prelates, either as the spires which point heavenward or as the battlemented bulwarks of the Church against her enemies. So does the weathercock recall the voice of those preachers of the Word who call upon those that sleep in their sins to arise.

Symbolical representations of the Church are very common in early art, and present many varieties. In the catacombs, the home of symbolism, it is found under two very different aspects, that of a grand veiled woman with arms

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THE CHURCH, SUPPORTED BY SS. PETER AND PAUL. ABOVE, IN A CIRCLE BETWEEN THE EMBLEMS OF THE EVANGELISTS, A FIGURE OF CHRIST

From the carved wooden door of S. Sabina, Rome. Fifth century

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extended in prayer, and that of the Ark, or more frequently the Ship. The *Orante*, as the praying woman is called, is sometimes alone, sometimes in connection with another veiled woman who represents the Jewish Church. There is a mosaic in S. Sabina, Rome, A.D. 424, which is a fine example. Both women have their definitions written under them; they are surmounted by figures of SS. Peter and Paul.

Some differentiation was made in these figures in later times by representing the Synagogue with veiled and blinded eyes, and with her crown fallen off, sometimes as fainting or dying.

The Apostolic Constitutions speaks of the long form of the church as symbolizing a ship, the ark of salvation, a meaning which would not apply to the numerous churches built in the form of a cross, or the circular churches so common in the East. The Church of the Apostles, built by Constantine, was cruciform, and the ground plan of most of the great English and French cathedrals is the same.

In several of the great thirteenth-century cruciform churches there is a slight inclination of the chancel end of the church to one side, and this was said to be an intentional piece of symbolism to represent the inclination of the head of Christ in death. It is not certain that this was so, but it was a quite likely idea for the period. In the thirteenth-century cathedral of Quimper, in Brittany, this inclination is rather overdone, so as to be almost unsightly.

The image of the Church as a ship was one

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that naturally grew out of the idea of the Ark, and also was doubtless associated in the Apostles' minds with the ship which so frequently contained Him when He spoke with the multitudes. Its appearance in the catacombs, on gems and in mosaics, is very common. Its distinguishing mark is usually a cross above the mast, or the Holy Dove hovering over it. St. Peter is most frequently represented in it; sometimes he is the only figure, and is guiding the vessel, or pulling up a net with fishes from the deep. Lamps were often made in the form of a ship. In one instance St. Peter stands at the prow, and Christ guides the vessel with the rudder.

The crowned and sceptred figure of the Church is sometimes shown with her feet upon the dragon, the symbol of sin, and in her hand she bears the chalice of salvation. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries this figure of the Church was frequently placed in a triumphal car, drawn by the four Evangelists in their symbolic form. In the *Purgatorio*, canto xxix, Dante describes one of these triumphal processions, but he makes the car drawn by a griffin.

The whole of the Song of Solomon was used to symbolize the Church, the Bride of Christ, and many highly mystical representations of a fair and beautiful Virgin clasping the symbolical chalice, set among evil spirits and beasts who try to drag her down, are to be found in the art of the Middle Ages, all developments of the veiled *Orante* of the catacombs.

In the thirteenth century the two figures of the

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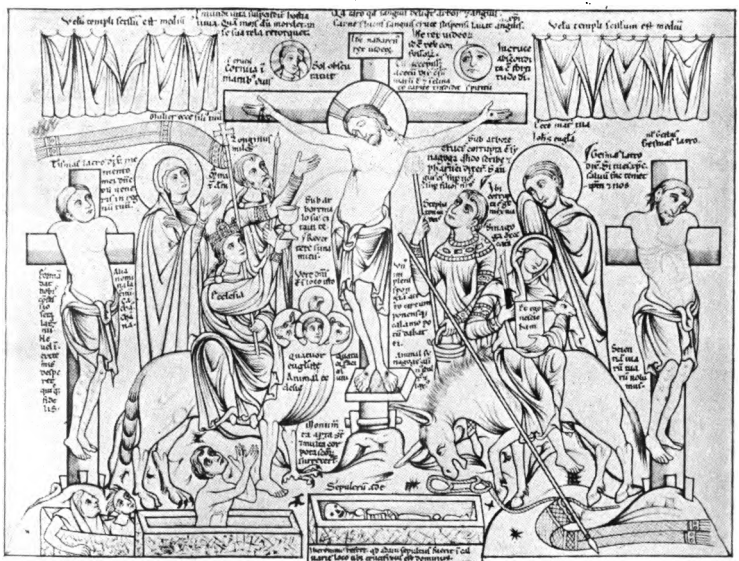

CRUCIFIXION, WITH EMBLEMATIC FIGURES OF THE CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH CHURCHES; THE FORMER MOUNTED ON "ANIMAL ECCLESIÆ," COMPOSED OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTIC SYMBOLS, THE LATTER ON AN ASS

From the "Hortus Deliciarum" of Herrade of Lansperg, a twelfth century MS. formerly in the Strasburg Library, destroyed in 1870

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Church and the Synagogue were sometimes placed one on each side of the Crucifix. The Church receives the sacred Blood in a chalice, and the Synagogue turns away her face and her crown falls off.

Symbolism was sometimes grotesquely carried out when it represents the Church, crowned and bearing a banner and a chalice, seated on an animal which was a combination of the four symbols of the Evangelists.

The Church is symbolized under the following metaphors :—The *House built on the Rock*, i.e. on the foundation of Christ. The *Leaven*, which represents the doctrine of the Church permeating and sanctifying the world. The *Mustard Seed*, which from the seed of grace spreads into a great tree. The *Vine*, the union of the faithful with Christ. The *Vineyard*, into which labourers are invited. The *Ship*, from which men, as fishes, are drawn up from the deep. The *Shepherd*, through whom the flock dwell in safety. The *City set on a Hill*, which cannot be hid, but whose light draws wanderers to her.

The consecration of a church in the Latin rite symbolizes the spiritual life of a Christian. The church is baptized by the threefold sprinkling and circuit of its walls, and is signed with the Cross. Its instruction is symbolized by the Latin and Greek alphabet traced by the Bishop with the foot of his crozier in ashes diagonally across the floor, and when the Bishop anoints the twelve consecration crosses on the walls with the chrism, there is an evident allusion to the Sacrament of Confirma-

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tion. The water mingled with salt, ashes and wine, may signify the Sacrament of Penance, and when the altar and other utensils have been consecrated, the first Mass said in the new church shows how the Christian, having been baptized, instructed, confirmed and shriven, receives the Holy Communion as the climax of his religious progress. In the Byzantine rite the building itself has very little done to it, the circumambulation and solemn entrance with relics being nearly all, while the symbolical ceremonies are all lavished on the Holy Table. The original Roman form was wholly funerary, consisting of little else than the deposition of the relics. The elaborate ceremonial of to-day is of Gallican origin, and occurs first in Romano-Gallican books of the Carlovingian period.

In all Catholic and Orthodox churches the altar is as much the central fact of the building as the heart is the fountain of life in man. It takes the place of Mary's knee as the throne of the Incarnate God. Mary held Him in His first Humiliation as an Infant, the altars are the footstool for His feet, in His greater Humiliation when He becomes the daily Bread of His children.

In the Jewish dispensation the special dwelling-place of God among men was the mercy seat over the altar, symbolical foreshadowing of the Tabernacle over the Christian altar, which contains the Host. Over the altar in the Old Dispensation, the Testament of the Testimony—that is, the Tables of the Law—were laid up. Christ the Wit-

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ness, the Testimony, and the Fulfilment abides as the "Bread of Life" over the altars of the church. The essential meaning of an altar is sacrifice, and its earliest form is a flat stone on a mound of earth. It is unnecessary to enter into the early instances of its use in the Old Testament from the time of Abel down to Christianity, for instances will occur to every mind of its development from the pile of stones to the altar covered with gold, used in the Temple.

Its primal use, if one may believe the conclusions of such Greek scholars as Miss Jane Harrison, was of an unbloody nature, and offerings of the fruits of the earth preceded those later ones of animals and human beings. There seem to have been few, if any, religions without some sort of altar, though it may be only used for the offering of a few grains of incense or a handful of flowers, but wherever it is the idea of sacrifice is present. Even Protestants, to whom the idea of the sacrifice of the Mass is utterly abhorrent, have a communion table after the old pattern.

The shape of the earliest Christian altars which are depicted on the walls of the Roman catacombs are of the pattern and size of those altars used by the pagan world for burning incense upon. Later, when the tomb of a martyr was used as an altar, the tomblike shape was suggested, and this, varying greatly in size and proportion from time to time, has continued to the present day. Down to the fifteenth century most altars in the West were small and not very high, as is still the case with those of the Byzan-

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tine rite. The huge high altars of the modern churches are comparatively late.

The consecration of the altar in the Latin rite is full of symbolism, and resembles the consecration of the church itself. There is a similar sprinkling with holy water and anointing with chrism, but the deposition of the relics of martyrs in the altar is a difference. This is probably an echo of the days of the catacombs, when the actual tomb of a martyr was used, but it has only been in comparatively modern times that it has been made universally obligatory to enclose relics in the altar, so that there is not absolute continuity of usage. In the Byzantine rite the relics are not placed in the altar, but in a shrine; but there are no catacomb memories in the East. Yet even there, the *antiminsion* (ἀντιμίνσιον), a consecrated cloth which, laid upon any table, serves the purpose of a portable altar or altar-stone, has relics sewn into its corners. The Latin altar has five crosses engraved upon it, and when they and the whole slab have been anointed with chrism and "oil of catechumens," grains of incense are put upon these crosses and set alight, with words indicating the symbolism of prayer. In the Celtic (Irish) consecration given in the *Leabhar Breac*, the Bishop is directed to cut seven crosses at the time with his knife (*co na scin*), but now the five are already engraved and are only marked with the oils at the time. In the Eastern rite the Holy Table is washed all over and anointed with the Μύρον (or chrism), and an otherwise quite unnecessary reference in the rubric to

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the anointing after Baptism shows what was in the mind of the composer of the service. Three crosses are made on the slab and are anointed, other crosses are made on the column, and the altar is clothed and the *Artophorion* (Tabernacle or Pyx) and the Book of the Gospels laid upon it, and then, after censing, prayers and lighting of lamps, the Liturgy is said.

The symbolical meaning of the altar is the heart, on which is to be offered the sacrifice of worship, on which the fire should be ever burning, as the perpetually burning lamp shines before the altar in Catholic churches.

The covering of white cloths, of which three are laid, signifies the sacred Humanity of Christ and the adornment of a pure heart with good works. The silken hangings and adornments typify the saints, and the ornaments of beautifying virtues which adorn the soul.

On Good Friday the altar is stripped of all covering to signify the soul of Christ leaving His body.

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CHAPTER VII

ECCLESIASTICAL COSTUME

THE ordinary civil dress of the first four centuries became in later times the distinctive dress of the clergy, developing somewhat differently in the East and in the West. Christians wore the same dress as pagans, and until the freedom of the Church it is probable that the clergy wore no distinctive garments beyond what the usage of ordinary Roman society decreed as proper garments for differing stations in life. The sumptuary law of the year 382 regulated to a minute degree the garments worn by the different classes of the population.

After the freedom of the Church, and influenced probably by the Byzantines, always more lavish and more interested in dress than the Romans, the dress of the clergy assumes very distinctive features. The sixth- and seventh-century mosaics of Rome and Ravenna amply illustrate these garments, and it is after this time that we may look for the gradual development of the symbolical meaning that in later times was attached to them.

There is nothing to show the precise date at which Christians adopted the Roman custom of

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men going bareheaded. The Jews wore caps in common use, and it was imperative for them to cover their heads during prayer; but judging from the earliest Christian monuments Christians followed the Roman custom of going bareheaded. The *Amice* which is now worn over the head at the beginning of Mass by religious orders did not come into use until the eighth century. It is supposed to be symbolical of the helmet of salvation, but also to represent the cloth with which the Jews blindfolded Our Lord. In pre-Reformation England, and elsewhere, it often had a broad band of embroidery round the edge of it, which showed above the chasuble like a sort of high collar. This and the "apparels" and cuffs of the alb went out of use in the sixteenth century, and are seldom worn now except by some ardent "Gothic revivalists."

The *Alb* derives its name from the Latin *alba;* it is always white, and was the long undergarment worn by Greeks and Romans. It is symbolical of purity, and while putting it on the priest prays that he may be purified in the blood of the Lamb. Also it represents the white robe in which Herod arrayed Our Lord. In pre-Reformation England a large oblong piece of embroidery called an "apparel" was attached to the lower part of the front of the alb, and there were also embroidered cuffs to it. The equivalent Byzantine *Sticharion* (στοιχάριον), though in theory of white linen, is now often of rich material and various colours.

The *Girdle*, or *Cincture*, which confines the alb

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round the waist, is the symbol of self-restraint and continence; the priest prays while putting it on, "Gird me, O Lord, with the cincture of purity." This and the stole and maniple are also taken to signify the cords with which Our Lord was bound.

The *Maniple*, worn on the left arm, was originally a handkerchief. The priest's prayer in vesting speaks of the "manipulum fletus et doloris." The Byzantine form, called *Epimanikia* (ἐπιμανίκια), is a pair of cuffs embroidered with crosses. The *Stole* is a band of embroidered silk, worn by priests over both shoulders, by deacons over the left shoulder only and fastened under the right arm. When a deacon is being ordained, the stole is laid upon the left shoulder with the words, "Accipe jugum Domini: jugum enim ejus suave est et onus ejus leve." When the priest puts on the stole in vesting for Mass he speaks of the "stolam immortalitatis quam perdidi in praevaricatione primi parentis." In the Byzantine rite there are two forms of the stole, the *Orarion* (Ὡράριον) worn by deacons over the left shoulder, hanging down before and behind, and the *Epitrachelion* (ἐπιτραχήλιον) worn by priests, which is like a rather short and broad stole with the two pendant ends sewn together so as to leave only room to put the head through. These are put on at ordination with only the word Ἄξιος (worthy), and no significance except the degree of the ministry is expressed.

The *Chasuble* is of Roman origin, and was the ordinary travelling cloak, or outer covering. Its

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VESTED BISHOP (ST. URSICINUS)
From a sixth century mosaic in S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna

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name *casula* is the diminutive of *casa*, and means a little house, because it covered the body like a house. It was of sufficient size to come below the knees, was of an oval shape, and had a hole in the middle for the head. The South American *poncho* is an instance of the same sort of cloak. It was only in the sixth century that it became a sacerdotal vestment. Its shape has varied considerably in consequence of the sides being cut away to allow freer use of the arms. It is now used chiefly, though not exclusively, by the priest in the celebration of Mass. Folded chasubles are worn by the deacons and sub-deacons during Lent. The symbolism which has been read into it is that of Charity, as it covers the whole body. The custom of embroidering a cross on the back is in allusion to the Passion of Christ. The single column sometimes used instead of the cross, which extends like a yoke over the shoulders, is explained by the prayer used when putting it on, "O Lord, who hast said, My yoke is sweet and my burden is light, grant that I may so bear it as to obtain Thy grace." The chasuble is also taken to signify the purple robe and the Cross, and sometimes the χιτὼν ἄῤῥαφος, the seamless tunic of Our Lord. The Byzantine *Phelonion* or *Phenolion* (φαινόλιον, φελόνιον) is both a chasuble and a cope. The name is the Latin *paenula*, a cloak, in the diminutive. It was a φαινόλης that St. Paul "left at Troas with Carpus" (2 Tim. iv. 13). The Phelonion is used by priests at most services, and has no particular significance.

The Latin *Cope* is properly a processional vest-

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ment. It is semicircular in shape, with a hood which is now atrophied into an ornament, but as late as the thirteenth century was a real hood. Its Latin name, "cappa pluvialis" or "pulviale," shows that it was originally a rain-cloak or waterproof. It has no mystical meaning, and may be worn by anyone, priest or layman.

The *Pallium* is a forked or Y-shaped piece of stuff worn over the front of a chasuble, and fastened on the shoulders with pins. It represents a robe of honour originally sent as a compliment by the Roman emperors to high officials, and is not unfrequently found as a purely secular badge on consular diptychs. Soon after the seat of the Empire was moved to Constantinople, the Popes adopted the practice of sending the pallium as an emblem of archiepiscopal dignity, and it is now the special badge of an archbishop, and, with one exception, has since then been conferred in the West by the Pope alone. This exception was when Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York in 1537, received at the hands of Cranmer a pallium conferred by Henry VIII. Apparently the success of this assumption of Papal jurisdiction was insufficient to warrant its repetition. In art the pallium always indicates an archbishop. The Greek *Omophorion* (ὠμοφόριον) is the equivalent of the pallium, less conventionalized, being a single strip of silk worn round the neck with one end hanging down in front. It is worn by all bishops.

The *Dalmatic* is a tunic with sleeves worn by deacons, and hence in art is the emblem of the

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diaconate. Deacon saints, such as St. Stephen and St. Lawrence, are quite anachronistically represented as wearing it. Emblematically in its close-fitting shape it shows the serving office of a deacon, whose movements would be impeded by voluminous garments. The Levites, the deacons of the Old Law, often wear it in medieval pictures, and those ministers of God, the Angels, are often represented in it. At the ordination of deacons it is put on with the words, "Induat te Dominus indumento salutis et vestimento laetitiae et dalmatica justitiae circumdet te semper." It has no Byzantine equivalent, though the *Sakkos* (Σάκκος) of a Bishop is very like it in shape. The name *Dalmatica* merely denotes its place of origin, for it was introduced as an imperial garment by Diocletian from his native Dalmatia. Curiously enough, an outer garment exactly like an ecclesiastical dalmatic is still part of the local costume of a Dalmatian woman. The tunic worn by subdeacons is merely a variety of the dalmatic. The dalmatic and tunic are worn by a bishop under his chasuble.

The *Mitre* is worn by bishops and archbishops and some abbots. It developed into its present shape from a sort of closed crown or cap of dignity. In the consecration of a bishop it is put on as the "galea munitionis et salutis" and as the tiara of Aaron, but in its cloven shape, which dates back perhaps to the eleventh century, it has suggested to some the "cloven tongues like as of fire" of the Day of Pentecost.

The Byzantine equivalent is more crown-shaped,

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and is worn not only by Bishops but by Priests of a certain rank.

The *Crozier* or *Pastoral Staff* is carried by bishops and mitred abbots. It is partly a shepherd's crook and partly a walking staff. In its ritual use it seems generally to signify that a bishop must necessarily be an old man, and must require something to lean upon when he stands up; but its form and name and the words with which it is delivered to a newly consecrated bishop, all set forth its pastoral significance. The old theory that a bishop carries his crozier with the crook turned outwards, and an abbot his with the crook turned inwards, to signify respectively external and internal jurisdiction, has no foundation in fact. In practice they both convey them just anyhow. *Baculum Pastorale* is its official name now, but it is a curious testimony to the universal pervadence of Irish missionaries in the early Middle Ages that (though the modern Irish word is *bachall*) one finds *cambutta*, the Gaelic *cam bata*, crooked staff, as an alternative, even as far from its native land as Milan (e.g. in a ninth-century Ambrosian Pontifical).

Other insignia of bishops are the *Ring*, the *Gloves* and the *Shoes*. The ring has the obvious significance of marriage to the Church. The shoes and gloves are merely dignified ornaments, unless the latter is the survival of veiling the hands.

A bishop or priest of a certain rank in the Byzantine rite wears a lozenge-shaped piece of stiff material richly embroidered, suspended by

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one corner from his epitrachelion or stole on the right side. This is called an *Epigonation* (ἐπιγονάτιον = that which is upon the knee). The Russian word is *Nabedrennik*, upon the thigh. When it is put on in vesting, the words "Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh" are said. This badge of dignity has no parallel in the Western Church. Its appearance rather suggests a sabretache.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the vestments in which a saint is represented in art may often be a clue to his identity. These indications may be summarized as follows:—A *Bishop* wears mitre, amice, alb, tunic, dalmatic, chasuble, stole, maniple, ring, gloves and shoes with a cross on them, and carries a pastoral staff. Or he may wear mitre, alb, stole and cope, with or without dalmatic and tunic. His walking dress is a purple cassock with a rochet (like a surplice with close sleeves), and over the rochet there may be, especially in England, a chimere or fur tippet worn like a boa. This last developed into the black satin chimere of the modern Anglican bishop. He wears a pectoral cross suspended by a chain round his neck. If he wears a pallium over his chasuble he is an archbishop. If he wears a monastic habit with a mitre and a crozier he is probably a mitred abbot. If he carries a staff with a cross instead of a crook he is an archbishop. This is not uncommon in art, though an archbishop never carries his in real life. It is borne before him. A *Priest* wears amice, alb, stole crossed on the breast and

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secured by the girdle of the alb (though only the ends show with a chasuble), maniple, and chasuble. He often carries a chalice and host. Or he may wear a cope instead of a chasuble, in which case the crossed stole may show, if he wears one. Or he may be represented in a surplice and a stole not crossed, or in a girded alb and crossed stole.

A *Deacon* is known by his dalmatic or by a stole worn over the left shoulder and fastened under the right arm.

A *Canon* is known by an ample furred tippet called an almuce. A *Cardinal* is generally represented in his scarlet cassock, rochet and great cape, perhaps with ermine tippet. Often with these he wears his broad-brimmed scarlet hat. But if he is in Mass vestments, his rank is only indicated by a little of his cassock showing below the alb.

A *Pope* is generally indicated by the triple-crowned tiara instead of the mitre, but some archæological purists, even as early as the Renaissance period, represent the earlier Popes in art with the single-crowned tiara, which is no doubt correct.

A Bishop of the Orthodox Eastern Church wears the *Sticharion* (or alb), the *Epitrachelion* (or stole), the *Epimanikia* (or cuffs), either the *Sakkos*, a short-sleeved tunic, or a *Polystavrion* (πολυσταύριον) which is a *Phenolion* embroidered all over with crosses, the *Omophorion* (or pallium), the *Epigonation*, and the Mitre or Crown. He carries a staff (ῥάβδος or πατερήσσα), which is not in the least like a Western crozier, but

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is about as long as an ordinary walking-stick, with a crutched handle, sometimes like a serpent. He wears over his walking dress a pectoral cross (ἐγκόλπιον) and a medallion with a picture of Our Lady, called a *Panagia*.

A Priest wears the ordinary *Phenolion* instead of the *Sakkos*, and unless he has the privileges of Mitre and *Epigonation* he does not wear these or the *Omophorion*. Instead of a mitre he wears the *Kamilavchion* or *Kalimavchion*, a hat like an ordinary "chimney-pot" without a brim.

A Deacon wears the *Sticharion*, *Epimanikia* and the *Orarion* or stole over the left shoulder.

In Byzantine and Russian pictures these details are often indicated with the fidelity of diagrams.

The colours of ecclesiastical vestments are described in the chapter on "Lesser Symbolism" with the other meanings of colours. The Roman sequence of colours has now almost entirely superseded all others in the West, as it had already begun to do before the Reformation, but in old times various local uses had arrangements of their own, though the general principles were very similar. The Orthodox Eastern Church, vaguer than the Western in this as in many other things, has no definite use of different colours for different days; but even there black is used for Good Friday and funeral services, and naturally the most gorgeous vestments are used for great festivals. Beyond that, colour does not seem to matter.

The habits of the various religious orders are distinguished by colour and form. In the Eastern

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Church there are no differences of order, all monks alike being under the rule of St. Basil, and the only varieties being those of rank, *Rhasophoron*, or Cassock-wearer (postulant), the Little Habit (noviceship), and the Great or Angelic Habit (full profession), and the distinction between simple μόναχοι, monks, and ἱερομόναχοι, monks who are also priests. There are, however, two different sorts of monasteries, or *Lavras*; Idiorhythmic monasteries, in which the monks have their own apartments and to some extent their own property, and Coenobite houses, where everything is in common. A saint who was a monk has the epithet ὅσιος, devout, religious, pure, instead of ἅγιος, saint, holy. The habit is black and very voluminous. In the West the colours of the principal habits are :—

BLACK : Benedictines, founded by St. Benedict of Nursia, in the sixth century.

Cluniacs, a reform of Benedictines, founded by Odo of Cluny, in the tenth century.

Augustinian Friars, founded at various times, but organized in 1284.

Augustinian Canons, found as early as the ninth century. Some wear white.

Servites, founded by Buonfiglioli Monaldi and his companions (the Seven Founders), 1232.

Brigittines, founded by St. Bridget of Sweden, 1363.

Various orders of Regular Clerks, such as Jesuits, Oratorians, Theatines, etc.

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WHITE : Cistercians, a reform of Benedictines by SS. Robert de Molesme, Stephen Harding and Bernard of Clairvaux, 1098–1115.

Carthusians, a reform of Benedictines, founded by St. Bruno, 1084.

Camaldolese, a reform of Benedictines, founded by St. Romuald, 1027.

Olivetans, a reform of Benedictines, founded by St. Bernard Ptolemei, 1319.

Premonstratensian Canons, founded by St. Norbert, twelfth century.

WHITE, with cross of red and blue : Trinitarians, founded by St. John of Matha, twelfth century.

WHITE, with badge, paly of eight, arg. and gu., on a chief of the first, a cross pattee of the second : Our Lady of Mercy, an offshoot of the Trinitarians founded by St. Peter Nolasco, thirteenth century.

WHITE, with Black Mantle : Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, founded by St. Dominic, late twelfth century.

WHITE, with fur : Gilbertines, founded by St. Gilbert of Sempringham, twelfth century.

BROWN : later Franciscans ; the early wore grey.

BROWN, with white cloak : Carmelites, introduced into the West in the thirteenth century, but originally anchorites and hermits on Mount Carmel. They attribute their foundation to the Prophet Elias and their reform to Our Lady.

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GREY: original Franciscans, founded by St. Francis of Assisi, early thirteenth century.

GREY, with black cloak: Order of Vallombrosa, founded by St. John Gualbert, 1073.

Of these, Benedictines with their various reforms are called *Monks*; Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Brigittines, Augustinian Friars, and Trinitarians are known as *Friars*; and Augustinian Canons, and Premonstratensians and Gilbertines are called *Canons Regular*. From the colour of their habits or of some prominent part of them, Benedictines were called in England "Black Monks," Cistercians "White Monks," Dominicans "Black Friars," Premonstratensians "White Canons," and Augustinian Canons "Black Canons"; and Trinitarians, from their red and blue crosses, were called "Crutched (i.e. Crossed) Friars." Carthusians were known as as "Monks of the Charterhouse," a corruption of "Chartreux." The Benedictine habit has a very voluminous cowl with large sleeves and hood over everything; and the Cistercian habit, which is really the same, only white, is distinguished by this cowl from the Carthusian, also white, which has a scapular fastened with broad bands at the sides. The Canons Regular wear rochets over their tunics. The Franciscan habit is a hooded tunic girt with a knotted cord. The nuns of the old orders usually wear the same colours as the monks; but the varieties of orders of nuns are endless.

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CHAPTER VIII

LESSER SYMBOLISMS

THERE are many emblems which represent general or abstract ideas rather than particular persons or things. Of this nature are those which have a moral significance or represent virtues and vices, particular classes of persons, or qualities. Beasts and birds, real or fabulous, plants, trees, articles of dress, musical instruments, and a variety of other things were used, especially in the medieval period, for emblematic purposes. Often the use was purely allegorical, or it might be founded on allusions in Scripture; but some objects acquired conventional meanings in which the connection with the things signified is not always self-evident. On monuments of the dead from the catacomb days onwards emblems were used not only to signify the hope of a future life and the Christian ideas of death, but also to denote the rank or profession or trade of the deceased. These were often obvious enough: a hammer for a smith, a square for a mason or carpenter, a ship for a sailor, a chalice for a priest, a mitre or crozier for a bishop, and the like.

Besides the monumental use of emblems, one finds a decorative and didactic use on the walls of

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churches and in paintings and stained glass. Virtues and vices are represented by human figures and attributes, or by animals, plants and the like. Colours, geometrical figures, jewels and heavenly bodies, all have ethical meanings attached to them, many of which are quite as much pagan as Christian. Those two vast systems of misapplied science, alchemy and astrology, furnished a great supply of symbolisms, which were fairly generally understood, when at least a smattering of those branches of learning formed part of a liberal education. But very much of this sort of symbolism was arbitrary and unsystematic, and more of the nature of the figures and metaphors of poetry than of a fixed symbolical language.

Animals in early Christian and medieval art occupied a much higher place than they did after the Renaissance. Although they were not held to have immortal souls, they were held to have been sanctified by the Redemption, for the Lord lay among them at His Birth, and used them for His human needs. They were held to be types of various qualities and virtues. Thus the thirst for salvation was typified by the longing of the *Hart* for the water-brooks. Representations of Harts drinking from a vase, or a river, symbolize the Faithful rejoicing in the waters of salvation. This is a very favourite subject in early mosaic work, and is most beautifully treated in Ravenna and Rome.

The *Ox*, the sacrificial animal of the Jews, was frequently used to represent that nation. It was also the type of patience and strength. The ox

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in pictures of the Nativity is held to represent the Jewish nation who bore the yoke of the law, and the *Ass* on whose back Christ rode, and who carried Him freely of her own will when He entered Jerusalem, typifies the Gentile world who followed Him without compulsion.

A most beautiful instance in art of the appreciation and comradeship of our dumb brothers is on the outside of Laon Cathedral, where grand and solemn figures of oxen, perfect emblems of rest after toil, look benignly down from the corners of the great towers over the roads along which their patient labour bore the stones of the great church. These were erected in memory of the oxen who dragged the stones from the quarries to build the church, and who now rest from their labours. The sight of the long and steep ascent to the city adds additional pathos to this thoughtful commemoration.

The *Lion* is sometimes used to represent Christ as the Lion of Judah, but in its common use in architecture, where it usually supports a pillar, is emblematical of strength and fortitude. *Griffins* and *Dragons* when used in this position may have the same meaning. The Dragon generally means the spirit of evil, or the personality of the Devil. When it is introduced under the feet of the Blessed Virgin or saints, it is symbolical of sin and the enemies of Christ whom they tread under their feet. The Lion is sometimes, but rarely, used in this sense. "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et concalcabis leonem et draconem."

The *Serpent* is partly the emblem of evil, and

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partly that of wisdom. Both ideas are given together in the Genesis story of the Fall of Man, and Our Lord used it as the illustration of wisdom in the good sense.

The *Unicorn* in pre-Christian times was a symbol of purity and strength. In medieval times it was accepted as an illustration of the Incarnation. Its horn was considered a symbol of the Cross, and was an antidote to poison. It was even considered a type of Christ Himself. The animal was said to be caught and tamed only by a pure virgin. As an emblem of chastity and strength it was very frequently introduced as an accessory to representations of Our Lady, and pictures of the capture of the unicorn by a virgin were among the various symbolical ways of representing the Incarnation.

Goats, *wolves*, *foxes* and *apes* usually represent the evil qualities of lust, cruelty and fraud.

The *Dove* is the usual symbol of the Holy Ghost, but it has many other meanings when not used in connection with the Third Person of the Trinity. Both the Church and the Pope are figured under the form of a Dove. There is a miniature of the eleventh century representing a Dove with one half its body silvered and the other half gold, and with winged feet, which is used as a type of the Church. Doves from a very early age have been held to typify gentleness and innocence, and in this sense they were very freely used in early Christian art to express Christians, who by the exercise of these virtues were pre-eminently distinguished from the pagan world.

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The Dove and the *Fish* were the two most recognized types of Christians during the first ages of the Church. A very common expression of the sacramental teaching of the early Church in the catacombs and on mosaics and tombs was two Doves drinking from a vase. It typified the nourishment of the Christian soul in the Sacraments. This idea in connection with the Holy Eucharist was sometimes expressed by birds eating from a bunch of grapes, or from bread in baskets. Doves bearing olive branches are symbolical of peace and forgiveness. Two Doves on the tombs of married persons represent conjugal affection. Doves adoring a cross have a very obvious meaning. Sometimes a cross surmounts the chalice from which they are drinking. All these, and many variants of the same subject, are in common use in early catacombs and sarcophagi, and in mosaics for the first eight or nine centuries. After that period birds seem to be less associated with direct sacramental teaching, but to become mere objects of decoration.

There is a highly symbolical instance of sacramental teaching on a capital of a pillar in Amiens, also in Chartres Cathedral, where Doves drinking from a chalice are adorned with tails of serpents, doubtless in allusion to the words, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

The *Peacock* was a pagan symbol which was early adapted by Christian artists from signifying the apotheosis of an Empress to being an emblem of eternal life. It was also used as an emblem of

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the Resurrection. Its general significance was the exchange of the mortal for the immortal, and in this sense we often find representations of the Peacock drinking from the vase of the water of life, or feeding on the fruit of immortality, when the artist desired to represent the state of bliss as compared to the trials of this mortal life. Gorgeous examples of this beautiful bird with outspread tail occur on the roofs and walls of catacombs and over the graves of martyrs, and always it denotes the beauty and glory of immortality. It is only in quite late art that the Peacock has degenerated into the emblem of worldly pride and vanity.

The *Phœnix*, which after death rose immortal from its ashes, was a popular myth, introduced into Christianity as early as the first Epistle of St. Clement of Rome, the second or third successor of St. Peter. As its special meaning was the resurrection of the dead and its triumph over death (and it is in this sense that St. Clement uses it), it was often associated with the palm tree, and early examples are found of it resting on a palm tree on Christian sarcophagi, eloquent of that rapturous belief in immortality that is the prevailing characteristic of the catacombs. Representations of it rising triumphantly from its flaming nest and ascending towards the sun are somewhat less common, but the Phœnix in itself was a recognized emblem of the Resurrection of Christ.

The *Cock* was an emblem of watchfulness and vigilance. Also it was held to be an image of

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PHŒNIX RISING FROM THE FLAMES
From a thirteenth century Bestiary in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

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Preachers. When introduced near the figure of St. Peter it expresses his repentance. In this connection it is one of the emblems of the Passion. A curious imagery is that of two Cocks fighting, which is found in the catacombs, and may represent Christians striving for Christ. The placing of a Cock on the top of church towers is said to be an allusion to St. Peter being the head of the Church on earth, and representing the voice of the Church which by day and in the watches of the night calls on men to repent. But this is perhaps an afterthought.

The *Eagle* is much less common in art than the Dove. It was a Hebrew symbol of the Spirit, and is generally used in connection with Old Testament characters, except where it is a symbol of St. John as an Evangelist.

Insects are often found as emblems in illuminated manuscripts. The three stages of *Caterpillar*, *Chrysalis*, and *Butterfly* are obvious emblems of life, death, and resurrection. The *Bee*, besides being a type of industry, was an emblem, according to a strange piece of pre-scientific natural history, of chastity and fecundity, and therefore of Our Lady. This is set forth in a beautiful passage, now omitted, but found in the Gallican Sacramentaries, and in those known as the Gelasian and Gregorian, in the service for the blessing of the Easter candle. This shows the application by its ending: "Sicut sancta concepit Virgo Maria: virgo peperit et virgo permansit," and in the part of this hymn still in use we find a wonderful piece of imagery at the lighting of the candle,

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"which (fire), though divided into parts, suffers no loss of its communicated light, for it is fed by the melted wax which its mother the Bee produced for the substance of this precious lamp."

The ancient classical symbol of Victory was a *Palm* branch. It was retained and spiritualized in Christian art, for whereas its pagan use was to denote worldly triumph, in Christian hands it became the recognized symbol of martyrdom. This conception of it is emphasized by the passage in Revelation vii. 9: "A great multitude stood before the throne clothed with white robes, and with palms in their hands. . . . These are they which came out of great tribulation." On tombs and in the catacombs the Palm is generally used to mark the graves of the martyrs, but its use is not confined to those only who suffered for their faith, for its ancient significance of victory is retained; but it means victory over sin and death, and symbolizes a spiritual and heavenly triumph. Other mystical meanings have been wrought into the symbol of the Palm. "The righteous shall flourish like a palm tree," represents its vigour and strength. Solomon speaks of the Church's beauty and symmetry under this figure where he says: "Thy stature is like to a palm tree." St. Ambrose speaks of the beauty of its leaves and fruit as emblematical of the Christian life which springs from the earth, but which blossoms towards heaven. It was considered as the emblem of immortality on account of its unfading verdure.

The form of the Palm varies from a somewhat stiff tree with branches to a single leaf or branch.

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In early Italian art it is small and stiff, and in Sienese art it frequently has dates depending from it. In Spanish art it is large and flowing in outline, but nowhere does it rise to greater dignity and impressiveness than in the mosaic work of the sixth and seventh centuries. Angels frequently bear Palms to the suffering martyrs or carry them as signs of victory, as Gabriel bears the Palm in pictures of the Annunciation.

One of the finest effects of the use of the Palm is in the great mosaic in the church of S. Apollinare Nuova, Ravenna, sixth century, where the long procession of kings and martyrs carry their crowns in their hands to cast at the feet of Christ, and between each martyr rises a noble Palm tree. It is introduced in a great variety of ways, not only on tombs but on vessels of various sorts. On a little early Christian lamp found in the catacombs, a Palm tree bearing fruit is represented with birds hovering over it, and the whole enclosed in a garland of grape-bearing vine.

The *Olive* has been considered the symbol of peace from the time of Noah, and probably before. The soothing and beneficial qualities of its oil naturally point to such a significance. Its use is very frequent on the tombs of the martyrs in the catacombs. Gabriel frequently bears the Olive of Peace in pictures of the Annunciation. Olives are interspersed with Palms in many of the early mosaics, and it is always used to indicate peace and blessing and triumph. The crown of Olive is used in a special manner, symbolizing spiritual victory; interwoven with it is sometimes

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the monogram of Christ. There is a curious instance in the catacombs of a fish bearing in its mouth a wreath of Olive which it is laying before a cross.

A comparatively rare Christian symbol is the *Cypress*. From its not losing its leaves in wind it has been adopted as the image of the just man who perseveres in virtue amid the gales and storms of this life. In this significance it was placed on gravestones in the catacombs, but its significance seems to have been early lost, and from its dark and sombre colouring it has been in later times used as a symbol of mourning and death, and is almost universally used in cemeteries. The vitality of symbolism is shown by the reported fact (if it is a fact) that the anti-clerical municipalities in Italy cut down cypresses wherever they can, for the superstitious reason that they are "clerical trees."

There is an interesting instance in Amiens Cathedral of the Good and Evil Trees of the Gospel. The one is full of leaves, with the lamps of good works hanging from its branches. The other is withered, with the axe stuck in its trunk. There is a similar design in a fourteenth-century Psalter (Arundel 83) in the British Museum. There the Tree of Knowledge in Eden is represented with Adam and Eve and the Serpent at its foot. Its fruit consists of disks with the names of the seven deadly sins, with the secondary sins that spring from each shown as smaller disks growing downwards. Owls and moths and noisome birds perch among the sad-coloured branches. On

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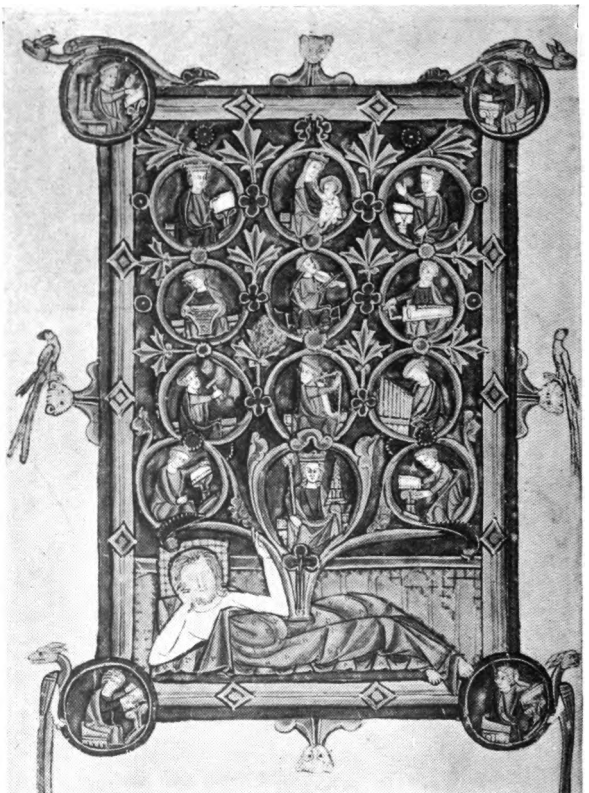

TREE OF JESSE

From an English thirteenth century Psalter (Add. MS. 21926) in the British Museum

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the opposite page is the golden Tree of Life, with Our Lady and the Angel of the Annunciation at its foot. The fruits are the seven virtues, with the secondary virtues growing upwards. Angels are among the branches and the Divine Face at the top.

The genealogy of Christ was often represented under the form of a Tree which springs from the patriarch Jesse, and spreading into foliage bears as its fruits the various ancestors of Christ. Usually the tree terminates in the figure of the Blessed Virgin bearing her Divine Son in her arms, but occasionally the full fruit is seen upon the tree in the person of the Crucified Christ. This Tree is often a Vine, the symbol of fruitfulness.

The natural kingdom of this world furnished the first Christians with many beautiful examples of symbolical meaning. All vegetation may in one sense be considered emblems of the Resurrection and of the life of Grace in man, which from a small seed may blossom into a fair tree. The Old and New Testaments abound in such allusions, and such symbolism was hallowed for ever by the Voice which said, "I am the Vine."

In the catacombs, on early tombs and mosaics, this symbol of the *Vine* constantly occurs. On a very early lamp found in the catacombs, a wreath of grapes surrounds the figure of the Good Shepherd. On an early sarcophagus Christ is shown addressing the disciples, and the background is formed of branches of Vine, "Ye are the branches." In the Galla Placidia Chapel in

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Ravenna a Vine rises and meanders all over the mosaic arches and roof in wonderful convolutions.

The Vine has more than an emblematical meaning, for inasmuch as Christ called Himself the Vine, it may be said to be a symbol of Him when it is used in reference to the Eucharist. When it is used without this special significance, it is a type of Christ and His Church. It may be also said to be a general type of spiritual fruitfulness.

Wheat has also this special significance in relation to the Eucharist, for it does not refer only to the bounty of the earth, but it signifies in an especial manner the Bread of Life. In this significance artists have frequently introduced ears of corn into pictures of the Infant Christ.

The *Lily* is, *par excellence*, the flower of religion, for it is the special emblem of purity and innocence, and it has been consecrated to the Virgin of Virgins, the second Eve, as the Apple has been symbolical of the first Eve. "Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias." The Lily is almost invariably introduced into pictures of the Annunciation; sometimes it is borne by the angel, sometimes by Our Lady, sometimes it is in a vase by her side. The Lily has become the emblem of Our Lady; in its conventionalized form of the fleur-de-lis it appears in painting, in sculpture, in architecture, on embroidery, in heraldry, in almost every form and degree. It has for some mysterious reason been accounted a harmless device by Protestants. I have seen an "undenominational" burial pall embroidered with fleurs-de-lis, in happy ignorance of

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PEACOCKS, WITH MONOGRAM AND VINE, SIXTH CENTURY
From a bas-relief in S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna

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their having any significance. But the unbroken continuity of its emblematical reference to Our Lady is too firmly established to be set aside. It was a white Lily with "Ave Maria" in gold upon its petals that in the Breton legend grew from the mouth of the dead Salaun of Folgoat, and its root was in his heart.

The *Rose* as Queen of the Flowers has been freely used as an emblem of the Queen of Heaven, and the Garland of Prayer invoking her is a Rosary, *Rosenkranz*. Dante (*Parad.* xxxi.) sees in the White Rose of Paradise "the holy host, whom Christ with His own Blood has made His spouse." Steadfastness and loyalty were symbolized by the White Rose of York and Stuart; expediency, perhaps, by the Red and White Tudor Rose. But as a rule the rose-symbolism is indefinite or heraldic, and so indeed is that of most flowers, and their associations belong rather to folk-lore than to symbolism. The same applies for the most part to fruits also. The *Apple* and the *Pomegranate* are often used as emblems in pictures of Our Lady, the former denoting the second Eve, the latter perhaps symbolizing royalty by its crowned top, though it also denotes fertility through its multitude of seeds. The *Shamrock* and other trefoils are obvious emblems of the Trinity in Unity.

A very favourite emblem in the catacombs was the *Anchor*, which signified Hope. Probably this association of ideas sprang from St. Paul's words in speaking of Hope as an Anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast. Many of the early

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Fathers speak of it, and one of them says: "As an anchor thrown into the sand will preserve the ship in safety, so Hope, even amidst tribulation, remains firm, and can sustain the soul."

The Anchor is very frequent on the gravestones of the catacombs, those eloquent chambers of Hope. Sometimes little fishes are introduced on each side, emblematical of the Christian dead. Sometimes the anchor rests on a fish, symbolizing that the Christian's hope is in Christ.

A very interesting instance of a late symbolism of the anchor is seen in the favourite seal of Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, one of the most devout and beautiful characters that the Anglican Church has produced. In this the crossbar and stem of the anchor form a cross on which is the figure of Our Lord. There are no words, but the symbol clearly reads, "Christus spes mea," a singularly appropriate motto for that excellent man.

The significance of the *Crown* is obvious. It has always been used to denote rank, sovereignty, victory and recompense, but in Christian art it has a deeper and spiritual significance as well as the natural one. New Testament references to the reward of the Crown of Glory are too well known to need recapitulation. The final consummation of all ideas on the subject is reached in the Apocalypse, where the saints in the ecstasy of their love cast their crowns before the feet of Christ. The Crown is by no means always a metal crown, but is often a wreath of leaves, olive or bay, or sometimes of flowers. In very early art the Hand of God is depicted issuing from the Heavens and bearing a

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MYSTICAL MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA; WITH FIGURE OF ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA INTRODUCED
From the painting by Ambrogio Borgognone in the National Gallery

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wreath. Later on an angel bears this wreath to a martyr, and gradually it becomes a circlet of gold or a crown studded with jewels. There is a special significance attached to the Crown when it is placed on the heads of female saints, for (except in instances like S. Catherine and S. Ursula, who were of noble birth, where it is used to emphasize their position) the Crown on the head of a virgin saint denotes in a special manner that she is the Bride of Christ.

Among Jews and pagans it was customary to place a crown on the head of the bride during the marriage service as signifying her dedication to her husband. This custom is still kept up in the Eastern Church, though except as a wreath it has fallen out of use in the West; but in the West the mystical crowning takes place at the profession of a nun, where a bridal crown or wreath is placed on her head on her dedication to Christ her spiritual Bridegroom. When a Crown is placed on the head of the Blessed Virgin it is a symbol of her sovereignty as Queen of Heaven, and the mystical Spouse of the Holy Ghost.

The Crown as the symbol of glory is not generally worn on the heads of martyrs, except the virgin martyrs, but is carried in the hand. Besides being a symbol, the Crown is also an attribute, and is often placed beside saints of royal birth to show their degree. In early art it is most frequently a chaplet of leaves, or a simple circle of gold. In later German art it becomes a gorgeous piece of the goldsmith's work and blazes with jewels.

In a highly emblematic engraving in the self-

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conscious symbolism of the seventeenth century, given in many editions of *Eikon Basilike*, the Royal Martyr of England, probably in allusion to his own words, "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown," is represented kneeling on his left knee while he places his right foot on a Royal Crown, grasps with his hand a Crown of Thorns, and looks upwards to a Celestial Crown. The inscription to this part of the picture is "Mundi calco," "Christi tracto," "Caeli specto," *coronam* being understood in each case.

An enquiry into the origin of the symbolical use of the *Veil* carries us to very early Greek and Italian customs, when under pressure of extreme disaster victims were offered to appease the wrath of the gods. With the growth of civilization the barbarism of this custom became softened into covering the victims with a Veil, and driving them beyond the state. The Veiling was thus a dedication, a ritual death.

The pre-Christian Veiling of a widow was a substitute for her immolation to the ghost of her husband. The primitive custom, so long preserved in India and China, was the sacrifice of the wife on the grave of the husband. The Veiling took the place of the actual death.

Confirmation Veils carry out the same idea of dedication, and the same applies to the Veiling of nuns. Women who were dedicated to the service of the gods were from very early times spoken of as the "veiled ones." When an altar is dedicated it is covered with cloths or veils. The chalice used in the Mass is kept covered with a Veil.

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During the ceremony of marriage in the East and Catholic West the bridal couple used to be veiled, or stand under the equivalent of the veil, the marriage canopy. In Protestant countries the woman only is veiled, the old Christian idea of the equality of the sexes in the Sacrament of Matrimony having become obsolete, and people see now in the bride's veil an untoward token of her subjection to the bridegroom. That was not the significance attached to the early custom which enveloped the two lives in their solemn dedication to each other in God, which was the Christian development of the pre-Christian dedication of the two to the powers of life.

The Latin word for "to be wedded," speaking of the bride, is *nubere*, to veil. *Nubit ei*, she veils herself for him.

Penitents were veiled not only when they did open penance, but also when they frequented the Sacrament of Penance, and a curious survival of this continues in the practice of many continental priests of holding a white cloth to their faces while they hear confessions.

From the earliest days of Christianity the hands which touch holy things have to be veiled, which veils possibly ultimately became the gloves of Bishops and Popes. The sacred vessels of the Eucharist are carried under veils.

In the Western Church it was once the custom during Lent for the altar to be hidden by a veil drawn between the presbytery and the choir. This was the case in pre-Reformation England, and, as Dr. Wickham Legg has recently pointed

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out, it is still used in places in Spain and Sicily. At one time in the Latin rite during the Canon of the Mass curtains were drawn round the altar to hide the actions of the Priest. It was the introduction in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of a great Elevation after the Words of Institution in addition to the lesser one at the end of the Canon which finally got rid of this veiling. In the Orthodox Eastern Church at the corresponding part of the service the middle doors of the Eikonostasis are shut and a veil is drawn across the tops of them, and the veil is not drawn back, or the doors opened, until the Consecration is finished, and the Priest does not show the Holy Gifts to the people until he summons the communicants with τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις (Holy Things to the Holy). Here the idea is that of mystery.

The flaming *Heart*, as a symbol of intense love and devotion, occurs in the catacombs, and is frequently found in illuminated MSS., but its more popular use dates from the days of St. Teresa. It is one of the emblems of St. Augustine of Hippo.

The *Fan* is a very ancient pagan symbol of purification. It has been adopted by Christianity, with its original meaning as used by St. John Baptist (St. Matt. iii. 12). It does not occur often in art, but in the Greek Church it is in practical use on every altar, at the time of Consecration in the Liturgy, for the fanning away of insects (as the Clementine rubric says). In the West it is only retained in the huge Fans of Feathers which are carried before the Pope on great occasions.

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The *Harp*, with its strings ever ready to vibrate to the least movement, is a fitting emblem of joy, which is the perpetual vibration of living beings tuned to perfect harmony. The perpetual worship of the mystic living creatures of Heaven is symbolized by a harp. All instruments of music are symbolical of praise and joy, and are often used in this sense as decorative objects in art.

The *Banner* is the symbol of victory, and is generally introduced into pictures of the Resurrection. It is usually in the form of a long gonfalon, or of a pennon with a cross upon it.

The significance of the *Burning Lamp* which is frequently met with in illuminations is that of good works, recalling Christ's words to let our light shine before men, or it is used as a symbol of heavenly light. *Flames* and *fire* represent the sufferings of martyrdom or purgatory, or else zeal and fervour.

The *Rock* is a symbol of Christ, and also of His Church.

The *Stars* are an emblem of the universe, or of Heaven. There was a belief in the Middle Ages that each of the archangels had his home in one of the planets.

The symbolical use of the *Signs of the Zodiac* in medieval times was to allot to each of the signs some manual labour corresponding with the month in which the sun entered that sign, as typifying the dignity and honourable nature of labour.

There were various symbols used to indicate the performance of a *Pilgrimage*. The most important place of these devotional journeys was

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first the Holy Land. The distinguishing badge of these pilgrims was a cross and a palm, hence the term "Palmers." From very early days the shrine of St. James the Great, of Compostella, was a great resort of pilgrims, and these were distinguished by a badge of a cockle-shell. The Canterbury Pilgrims had for their sign the ampulla or flask worn suspended from the neck. In addition to these badges the staff and the wallet or scrip were also used to indicate a pilgrim.

According to St. Jerome, we ought to study Holy Scripture in three ways, first according to the letter; secondly, according to the spiritual meaning, or allegory; thirdly, according to the promise of the blessedness of the future.

The word *Jerusalem* may be cited as an illustration. There is the historical city of Jerusalem with its actual history. There is the symbolical Jerusalem indicative of the Kingdom of Christ, the Church of God on earth, and there is the heavenly Jerusalem, the home of the saints in Heaven. It is in the symbolical sense that the city of Jerusalem is frequently introduced in early mosaics into pictures of Christ in Glory, notably that in St. Pudentiana, in Rome, where Christ sits amid Apostles and Saints in the New Jerusalem of His Kingdom.

The symbolism of *Numbers* is generally rather obvious. *One* is for the Unity of God; *Two* for the two Natures of Christ; *Three* for the Holy Trinity; *Four* for the Evangelists; *Five* for the Five Wounds of Christ; *Seven*, whose sacredness originates in the Seven Planets, is used as a

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CHRIST ENTHRONED AMONG THE APOSTLES; IN THE BACKGROUND, JERUSALEM, CALVARY AND THE CROSS AND THE EMBLEMS OF THE EVANGELISTS

Apsidal Mosaic in St. Pudentiana, Rome. Late fourth century

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number of completeness: seven days of Creation and of the week, seven sacraments, gifts of the Holy Ghost, Words from the Cross, seals, virtues, vices, Penitential Psalms, and all manner of other things; and in the East the Seven General Councils of the Undivided Church. *Nine* is the number of the choirs of Angels. *Ten* symbolizes the Old Law, being the number of the Commandments. *Twelve*, being taken originally for the Signs of the Zodiac, is the number of the Apostles, the months of the year, the gates of the New Jerusalem. *Fifteen* indicates ascent or progression. There were fifteen steps to the Temple, hence there are fifteen Psalms of the Steps, or "Gradual Psalms," and the Rosary of Our Lady has fifteen mysteries. *Forty* may be taken as a way of expressing vaguely rather a long time, Forty Years in the Wilderness, Forty Days of our Lord's Fasting, the Forty Days between the Resurrection and Ascension. But all the manipulations of numbers for symbolical purposes that come from these are fantastical and of no great importance.

Colour symbolism, with which may be associated the symbolism of jewels, for it is mostly their colour which influences it, is founded on natural principles, and begins very early in Christian art and ecclesiology.

White symbolizes light, purity, innocence, joy, triumph, and is in general use for festivals, unless it is required to emphasize some point other than joy. The *diamond* and *pearl* are the equivalent gems.

Red and the *Ruby* symbolize love, fire, fervour,

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blood, and martyrdom. Red is the colour appropriate to the Holy Spirit as commemorating the "cloven tongues like as of fire," and is used at Pentecost and in Masses of the Holy Ghost, as well as on feasts of martyrs. It is the colour of the seraphim also.

Blue and the *sapphire* symbolize heaven, truth, consistency, and wisdom. Blue is the special colour of Our Lady, though not now used liturgically. It is also the colour of the cherubim. The sapphire is the usual though not invariable stone for the rings of Bishops.

Green and the *Emerald* signify growth, life and hope. As a liturgical colour it is used in the Roman rite for ferial days, from the Octave of the Epiphany to Septuagesima, and during the Trinity to Advent period. The Ambrosian rite does not use it for the greater part of the Trinity to Advent period, but uses it in Eastertide to some extent and on feasts of Abbots. The wood of the Cross is often painted green to signify the Tree of Life.

Gold or *Yellow* (*topaz*) is often used liturgically as an alternative of white, to add splendour to greater feasts. In a bad sense yellow signifies jealousy and deceit.

> Troops of the demon north in yellow garb,
> The sickly hue of vile Iscariot's hair,
> Mingle with men in unseen multitudes.

Violet or *Purple* (*amethyst*) is the colour of penitence, and is used in Lent and Advent. The amethyst signified the opposite of drunkenness,

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against which the Greeks held it to be a preventative. Hence its name ἀμέθυστος.

Black, grey, or sad-colour (neutral tints generally) are negations of colour and typify mourning of a more intense and hopeless form than violet. Black is used liturgically on Good Friday and in Masses for the Dead, but this is probably a legacy from the Renaissance period, when with a recrudescence of pagan symbolism it superseded violet.

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CHAPTER IX

OLD TESTAMENT TYPES

FOR many centuries the acutest intellects and the warmest hearts of European men were chiefly interested in the welfare of the soul. Religion was of as vital interest as philanthropy and politics are to leaders of thought to-day. The time and trouble spent over religion and religious matters is so foreign to modern thought that we find their language so full of forgotten mysteries that it requires a key to interpret it. No ordinary modern man can contemplate two such monuments of medieval symbolism as the carvings of Chartres and Rheims cathedrals, and understand more than vaguely what they are all about. Such a minute knowledge of Scripture does not obtain in these days of cheap Bibles as in the days when the Bible was taught and fixed in figures of stone and blazoned in colours on walls and windows.

The religion of the early Church and the Middle Ages was not a hotch-potch of more or less disputed statements of which anyone could take his choice, but a carefully and closely reasoned out system, which, like all living things, was gradually amplified and developed. From the earliest days

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of the Church the Old Testament has been looked upon as the mystical foundation on which the new Gospel was raised. Its historical facts and its spiritual teaching were constantly called as witnesses to new revealed truth. From the time of St. Paul this drawing of new truths from the old has been going on, varying in points of view with the spiritual necessities of the ages. Its fullest expression is naturally traced in literature, but its more popular delineation is found in the ordinary art of the churches and cemeteries.

The choice of subjects in early Christian art was of a wholly symbolical interest; historical sequence was absolutely ignored. It is only by the understanding of the aims of early artists that we can explain the immense preponderance of certain Old Testament subjects in Christian art, and the entire ignoring of others.

The special lesson taught by the early artists of Christianity (and it is useless to look to post-Reformation art for symbolism) was the new and wonderful doctrine that Life triumphed over Death. A new and vital meaning was read into old history, and certain points symbolizing this were eagerly seized on. This earliest artistic treatment of religion from a systematic and symbolical point of view is met with in the catacombs. The religious subjects are not treated as merely historical, but are symbolical, and the cardinal points thus emphasized were belief in Eternal Life, and the efficacy and aid of the sacraments. The teaching of the first six centuries as revealed by art is sacramental and symbolical. The im-

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mortality of the soul and triumph over suffering are the favourite themes, and they are illustrated in a variety of ways. To give a few instances out of many—

BAPTISM.	Noah in the Ark.
	Moses striking the rock.
THE EUCHARIST.	Miracle of loaves and fishes.
	Water turned into wine at Cana.

These illustrate the divine life of the soul on earth; and its triumph over suffering is shown by such figures as Daniel in the lions' den, while its Resurrection is denoted by the deliverance of Jonah from the whale, and the raising of Lazarus, and by the carrying of Elijah into Heaven.

The Ark, as the symbol of the Church, and Moses striking the rock testified of Christ the Spiritual Rock, the Ark of salvation, and the waters of grace. A very favourite subject was the delivery of the Three Children from the Fiery Furnace, eloquent of the deliverance of the saints from their persecution. This was often placed in correspondence with the worship of the Magi, for the Three were called on to worship the false gods and the Magi adored the true God. The type of the eternal priesthood of Christ and His Church was shown by Melchisedek, who, being a priest of the true God, brought offerings of bread and wine, symbolizing the Blessed Sacrament.

These and kindred subjects occur over and over again on the walls of the catacombs and in early

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PERSONIFICATIONS OF FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY, SURROUNDED BY THE SEVEN GIFTS OF THE HOLY GHOST, THE THREE DAUGHTERS AND SEVEN SONS OF JOB, REPRESENTED AT TABLE ABOVE, BEING TAKEN AS TYPES
From a Bible of Flemish work, dated 1170 (Add. MS. 17738), in the British Museum

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sarcophagi. The great use of the Old Testament was its shadowing forth of the New, and every incident in it was held to have a spiritual and symbolical meaning. These meanings were most carefully thought out and elaborated, and finally were brought together under the title of the *Biblia Pauperum*.

The text of the *Biblia Pauperum* is supposed to be from the hand of St. Ansgar, a monk of Corbey, born A.D. 801, who was known as the Apostle of the North, and was sent on a mission to the Danes. It contains thirty-four scenes from the Life of Christ, each one with numerous and deeply thought-out references to Old Testament scenes, characters, and texts, and ends with six other subjects, from the Descent of the Holy Ghost to the Reward of the Righteous.

In the East, a similar work, the *Byzantine Guide to Painting*, was even more copious, for in addition to scenes from the Life of Christ and His Mother, it gives directions for painting the Prophets, the Holy Women, the Patriarchs, the History of the Jews, and numerous mystical subjects such as "The Spirit's Reunion," "The Immaculate Conception," "The Assumption of Our Lady," "The twenty-four stations of the Divine Mother," "The Miracles of the Saints and Martyrs." Although the list of subjects in the *Byzantine Guide* is far greater, yet it does not draw upon Old Testament imagery to illustrate the Gospel in the same degree that the *Biblia Pauperum* does, but presents more an abstract historical scheme.

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Following the scenes from the Life of Christ, the *Byzantine Manual* gives directions for mystical subjects which were to be painted on the cupolas of the churches: "The Divine Liturgy," "The Blessed Trinity," "Christ surrounded by Angels Blessing the Eucharist," "The Apostles receiving the Eucharist," "The Spirit's Reunion," "Heaven with Christ among the Saints and Angels," "The Apocalypse," "The Second Coming of Christ and the Judgment."

One of the many admirable aspects of the Christian Church is its power of assimilating the various good points of earlier religions. The "Basket of God" was found able to contain the remnants from many a feast, broken to serve for food. Many of our most hallowed customs and practices thus acquire an added value, for they represent the aspirations and practices of the pure of heart of all times, who have sought God behind the veil. Before simple people became frightened of the bugbears of science and archæology, they quite sweetly and naturally incorporated old myths and gave them new meanings.

In the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* we find nine pagan myths all brought into the service of Christ. It was more complete in detail, and of wider and more philosophic value than the *Biblia Pauperum*. The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* is said to have appeared in the year 1324. There are several early and very valuable MSS. of it, four of which are in the British Museum. The most interesting MS. is in the

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Bibliothèque Nationale (Suppl. Lat. 9584) in Paris, and contains miniatures of the school of Giotto. Another copy in the same library, which bears the date 1324, has miniatures attributed to Taddeo Gaddi.

While the Byzantine Manual had served to bind artists down to a rigid uniformity, the "Mirror," while preserving the old system of carefully reasoned out and correct theology, encouraged the artist to develop original thought and methods of execution, and, so to speak, trained his emotion and fancy to blossom forth in those exquisite and profound poems in miniature and stone of which Chartres and Rheims are the sculptor's fulfilment. The most complete carrying out of the *Speculum* which is available to the ordinary student of to-day is to be seen at Chartres. Eighteen hundred and forty figures eight feet in height are on the outside, and two thousand within, and in their arrangement is a complete account in symbol of the World, the Soul, and the Divine as revealed to man.

Vincent de Beauvais, the friend of St. Louis, divides this scheme under three heads.

The *Speculum Naturale*, in which we see as in a mirror darkly, God as Creator, and reflected in His works.

This series begins with the creation of the angels; then follows the creation of matter, Astronomy, Meteorology, Geognosy, Mineralogy, Botany, Zoology, following each day, and all culminating in man, and the awful climax of the fall of man.

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The life of man on earth is the next division. Agriculture, Industries, Manufactures, Art, Medicine, all the common labours and daily life led by humanity, all sanctified and hallowed by the purpose for which man was created. God's Being is reflected in the whole order of the universe, and the life of Grace follows upon the life of Nature.

This systematic study of the Bible as a whole led naturally among the more cultivated artists to personifying theological, philosophical, and moral truths under visible forms. The next series is the *Speculum Doctrinale*, a mirror of art and science. Morals, Grammar, Physics, Politics, Literature, Mathematics, Medicine, and Jurisprudence are all symbolically set forth. There are two hundred and fifty-one figures representing these and other divisions of human learning. Rhetoric is a figure preaching, Arithmetic a man counting.

Following these abstract ideas are a hundred and forty-eight instances of the virtues and vices, such as Charity, a woman giving alms; Avarice, a long lean woman with a safe; Humility, a sweet veiled girl studying a book; and Pride, a dashing young woman. The public virtues such as Liberty, Honour, Prayer, Fortitude, Friendship, Concord, etc. are symbolized by fourteen women wearing nimbus and crown, young and full of strength and vigour. They are robed in long mantles and carry shields and spears.

After these allegorical figures comes the Mirror of History. In this the story of man from the

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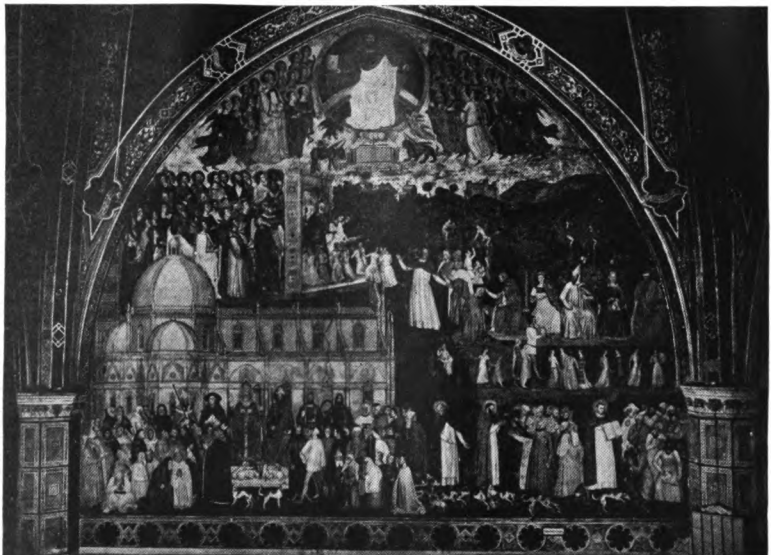

THE CHURCH MILITANT AND TRIUMPHANT
From a fresco by Simone Martini in S. Maria Novella, Florence

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Creation to the death of Christ is set forth. Nearly fifteen hundred figures illustrate on Chartres Cathedral the Old and New Testament in thirty-one scenes.

After the Descent of the Holy Ghost and the Coronation of the Virgin, comes the destruction of the world, the Last Judgment, Heaven and Hell. In Rheims, which is a little later, very much the same sequence is given, but scenes from the Apocalypse are also introduced, and the story of the Finding of the Cross. Very truly may these great Cathedrals, built by the personal devotion and labour of monks, be fitly termed "Bibles in Stone."

The general principle of the work seems to be the hallowing of all creation to the ultimate Glory of God. Every incident in the history of the Life of Christ stretches backwards and forwards, was dimly set forth and partially foreseen by prophets, kings, and people of old, and bears for all time its mystical significance to every individual soul of man. The Life of Christ blazoned with every amplification of symbol and teaching was the main scope of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*. Both these schemes were still further embellished and developed by the artists of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, who aimed at a Mirror of the Universe, Theology, Science, and Human History.

The latest great statement in art of these themes is on the walls and ceilings of the Sistine chapel. In all these Western systems chronology and history are subservient to symbolism and spiritual

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meaning. In the Middle Ages this use of the Old Testament gave it an extraordinary and emotional value which it has lost somewhat in most minds of to-day. For it showed by its application of types and foreshadowings the perfect continuity existing between God's revelation of Himself to His Chosen People in the Jewish Church and to all the world in the Christian. It represented symbolically the Voice of the Written Word, as the sacraments and sacramentals, the hagiology, the dogmas and the liturgical system, that *lex orandi* which is always also a *lex credendi*, represent the Voice of the Living Church, ever in accord with the Written Word, though never dependent on it. And these two Voices together, for they are one, make up the only *Vox Populi* which is in any true sense *Vox Dei*.

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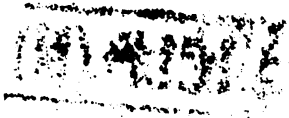

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